法相傳真

古代佛教藝術

In the Footsteps of the Buddha

AN ICONIC JOURNEY FROM INDIA TO CHINA

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法相傳真

古代佛教藝術

26.9.1998—15.12.1998

香港大學美術博物館與香港大學藝術學系聯合主辦

In the Footsteps of the Buddha

AN ICONIC JOURNEY FROM INDIA TO CHINA

26.9.1998—15.12.1998

Jointly presented by
The Department of Fine Arts & The University Museum and Art Gallery
The University of Hong Kong

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序言

人類和動物一樣，一直以來都在“求生”。

自古以來，中華民族的“求生”過程是痛苦的。自新石器時代開始，他們希望生育男孩，傳宗接代，讓家族得到“永生”。他們又煉丹保命，求取不老之藥，讓自己可以“長生”。他們千方百計去保護死去的身體，希望肉體不腐，讓死者能夠“重生”。

可惜“永生”不能達到，“長生”不容易、“重生”永不會實現。

印度佛教傳入中國後，無數中國人接受了佛教學說。他們認識到“人生”其實是痛苦的；“永生”、“長生”、“重生”都須面對無窮無盡的苦楚。若果做到修身成佛，便能夠永卻痛苦“人生”。

佛教救活了無數中國人。

佛教的學說，透過經文、圖畫、造像向各方世界傳播開去。佛教藝術成為一個獨特、複雜而又影響深遠的文化。這文化在南亞、東亞、東南亞流傳了二千年；苦行的釋迦、來世的彌勒、淨土的阿彌陀、慈悲的觀音、智慧的文殊、解難的地藏、護法的金剛等種種法相均傳到了今天。這些造像表現不同的手印、不同的坐立姿勢，手持不同的法器。這些藝術形式均有它們本身的意義。

我們希望這展覽展示出這些法相的真正意義。

我非常感謝高禮智博士，她為這展覽和研討會做了很多艱巨工作，把這富有意義的活動實現出來。這活動是集眾多人士的力量才可以促成的，但我在這裏也須特別向何培斌博士、星島控股有限公司及香港大學博物館學會致謝。何博士參與整個籌辦工作，星島控股有限公司贊助本圖錄和有關刊物的印刷，而博物館學會給予本館長期不斷的支持。

我相信莊嚴的法相可以把慈愛、善良傳入我們的心，化去了眾生的苦難和憂心！

香港大學美術博物館

總監

楊春棠

Preface

Human beings, like animals, constantly strive for survival.

During its long history, Chinese civilization's struggle for survival has been painful. Since the Neolithic period, for generation after generation, many Chinese have wished for male heirs so that the family line would develop and continue forever. The Chinese practiced alchemy in their search for longevity, and used every means at their disposal to preserve the bodies of the deceased so that they would have a chance for rebirth. Nevertheless, for a mere mortal "living forever" was impossible, "longevity" was not easily obtained, and "rebirth" could not be ensured.

After Buddhism was introduced from India to China, numerous Chinese were inspired by the Buddhist doctrines. They acknowledged that life was painful, and that to "live forever" or attain "longevity" or "rebirth" one had to undergo great and endless pain. However, if one practiced self cultivation in accordance with the Buddhist teachings, one would be forever liberated from this painful life.

Buddhism spiritually saved the lives of many Chinese. The Buddhist doctrines spread to many places in the world through scriptures, paintings and sculptures. Buddhist art has become a distinct, complex, yet long lasting cultural influence, and Buddhist culture has been widely disseminated in South, East and Southeast Asia for over two thousand years. Sacred images such as those of Śākyamuni (Buddha of the Present World), Maitreya (Buddha of the Future World), Amitābha (Buddha of the Western Paradise), Avalokiteśvara (Bodhisattva of Compassion), Mañjuśri (Bodhisattva of Wisdom), Kṣitigarbha (Bodhisattva of Liberation), and Dharmapala (Defenders of the Faith) have, through the ages, become part of people's consciousness. By adopting a wide range of gestures (*mudrā*) and postures (*āsana*), and holding various ritual objects, each personage of the Buddhist pantheon demonstrates his or her own spiritual meaning and aesthetic form. We hope that this Buddhist art exhibition will vividly reveal the true meaning of each of the images displayed.

With sincere gratitude, I have to thank Dr Rajeshwari Ghose who has contributed tremendously to this exhibition and the concurrent symposium. I appreciate the efforts of all those involved in making this meaningful project possible, for without their concerted efforts this project would not have become reality. Special thanks should also go to Dr Puay-peng Ho who provided valuable assistance throughout, to Sing Tao Holdings Limited, which sponsored the printing of all the material associated with this exhibition, including the catalogue, and to The University of Hong Kong Museum Society, for its continued enthusiasm and support throughout the duration of this project.

I believe that the grandeur of the Buddhist pantheon on display in this exhibition will fill our hearts and minds with kindness and compassion, and as a result help to relieve the miseries and distress of humankind.

Yeung Chun-tong
Director
University Museum and Art Gallery
The University of Hong Kong

前言

我們的藝術學系很榮幸地與香港大學美術博物館合辦這個名為**"法相傳真：古代佛教藝術"**展覽，以及出版這本學術刊物。在香港，我們是唯一的大學部門， 提供廣泛的藝術歷史的教學，要算是擔當著非常重要的角色。我們的課程重點在透過研習不同的視覺藝術，來刺激學生的思考，力求廣闊他們對世界的視野。這次展覽顯然有助我們達到這個目的。通過我們對佛教藝術在各地發展的探索，參觀者將窺探到東、南、中亞等地區在文化與藝術方面的異同。

這是香港首次舉辦有關佛教藝術在亞洲發展和傳播的展覽，規模宏大。除了展覽以外，我們還製作了這本圖錄，內容包括多篇論文，它們來自專門研究佛教藝術的學者，這些研究報告均從歷史角度去探討佛教藝術。我們深信展出的珍貴藝術品必定使蒞臨參觀的人士和參閱圖錄的讀者細心欣賞，引發他們對佛教更大的興趣。

九八年的秋季，不單為這展覽揭開序幕，更標誌著藝術學系踏入第二十週年，意義重大。這展覽、圖錄和附設的研討會均為我們週年慶典的節目，同時亦代表我們藝術學系與大學美術博物館長久以來的緊密合作，雙方的友好關係又邁進一步。猶想起二十年前，剛成立的藝術學系祇能夠在當時的馮平山博物館的一隅籌辦展覽。匆匆地過了二十年光景，藝術學系與大學美術博物館共同成長。而在未來的日子裡，雙方定能繼續合作無間，貢獻社會。

像這樣規模的展覽實在是不輕易辦成的。各界朋友的熱誠支持是不可缺少的。 我們深感高興，得到各博物館和收藏家借出藏品，贊助商的慷慨捐助，學者們對圖錄和研討會的貢獻，展覽籌委會的週詳計劃和細緻執行，以及多位熱心人士的通力合作和幫助，才令這個大膽的嘗試實現出來。此外，香港大學美術博物館各同事付出很大努力，總監楊春棠先生熱誠參與，並從不間斷地給予支持和鼓勵，我對他們致以衷心的感謝。

最後，我須特別感謝一位資深學者 — 高禮智博士，她提出這次展覽的意念， 付出大無畏的精神，方能令這展覽順利舉行。我感謝她的熱誠、堅持和努力，使整個計劃獲得豐碩成果。

香港大學藝術學系
系主任
穆凱琳

Foreword

It is with pride and pleasure that the Department of Fine Arts and the University Museum and Art Gallery present the exhibition ***In the Footsteps of the Buddha: An Iconic Journey from India to China*** and this accompanying catalogue. As the only university department in Hong Kong offering comprehensive training in art history in a wide range of regions and traditions, we view our role as a vital one. Among our goals is the hope that we can sensitise students to different world views through the study of the visual arts. This exhibition will help us to further this aim. Through our exploration of the ways in which Buddhist art and ideas were adapted from country to country, viewers will observe the similarities and differences between cultures and art as diverse as those of South, Southeast, Central and East Asia.

This is the first time that an exhibition tracing the spread of Buddhist art within Asia has been mounted in Hong Kong on such a large scale. It has been an ambitious project, made even more so by our desire to produce a catalogue which would include contributions by leading scholars in the field, encompassing recent research in the area of Buddhist art historical studies. We are sure that visitors to the exhibition and readers of the catalogue will find much of interest as they contemplate the many splendid artworks on display and read about them in the catalogue.

The autumn of 1998, besides signaling the opening of this important exhibition, has a further special meaning to the Department of Fine Arts, for it marks our 20th anniversary. This exhibition and catalogue, and the accompanying symposium, form part of our celebration of this anniversary. These events also mark another step in our long-standing cooperation with the University Museum and Art Gallery. Twenty years ago, the fledgling Department of Fine Arts set up operation in a corner of the (then) Fung Ping Shan Museum. Both the department and the museum have grown in the past 20 years, and our cooperation likewise continues to evolve, bringing benefits to all of us and the community at large.

A project such as this one does not spontaneously come into being. There are many people and organizations whose participation was essential – the museums and collectors who have loaned their artworks; the sponsors whose generosity has made this venture possible; the scholars who have contributed to the catalogue and the symposium; the exhibition committee which handled the details of planning and execution; and the many individuals who helped in large and small ways. The staff of the University Museum and Art Gallery have worked long and hard in mounting this exhibition, and the enthusiasm of its Director, Mr Yeung Chun-tong, has been a constant source of encouragement. To all of these people, I give my heartfelt thanks. But there is one other person whom I would like to acknowledge; one person without whom this exhibition would not be; one person who conceived of the idea and remained undeterred by its boldness – Dr Rajeshwari Ghose of the Department of Fine Arts. I would like to thank Dr Ghose for her enthusiasm, conviction, and sheer hard work, all of which were essential in bringing this project to fruition.

Carolyn D. Muir
Head
Department of Fine Arts
The University of Hong Kong

Acknowledgements

The organisation of an exhibition such as this one would not have taken place without the assistance of a great many institutions and individuals. This was particularly true given the relatively short time in which this project was conceived and executed. Listed below are the lenders, sponsors, and contributors to the exhibition and catalogue each of whom played an essential role in the project. To each I give my warmest thanks. In particular, thanks go to Marianne Yaldiz, of the Museum für Indische Kunst, for arranging for the loans from that institution; Stephen Little, Betty Seid and Iris Wong, of the Art Institute of Chicago, for coordinating the loan from Mrs. Marilynn Alsdorf, and Pratapaditya Pal, for the initial introduction and continued support; and Chou Ju-hsi and Stanislaw J. Czuma, of the Cleveland Museum of Art, for arranging for the loans from that institution.

There are, in addition, a number of individuals who helped with the day-to-day work of the exhibition and the catalogue. Their assistance, in large and small ways, I gratefully acknowledge here. My thanks go to: Susan Dewar, of Art Text, who oversaw the entire publication; Geetanjali Singh Chanda and Heather Stanley-Baker, who read through copy and proofs, and assisted with revisions, with Heather often working overnight to compile the glossary with the help of Chhaya Haesner, Siri and Rama; Gladys Lui Kwok-tai, who worked tirelessly for months in more ways than I know how to enumerate; Annie Chow Mo-oi, who helped with diacritical marks; Chan Kuen-on, for her immense help in the last stages of the preparation of the catalogue; Amita Sharma, who helped to proof-read the diacritical marks; Grace Wong Shiu-lai, for her ability to locate hard-to-find information; Karen Leung Kit-ling and Yan Pui-ling, for their assistance throughout the project; the designing team led by Cynthia Ng Ying-fai, whose work can be seen in all the printed material relating to the exhibition and who worked under enormous pressure; Siri Ramaswami, and the Kanaka Sabha Troupe for the dance performance at the opening; Colin Yip Chi-sun, of Noble World Printing Co., Ltd., for undertaking the task of printing the catalogue and various materials; and last but not least, Barbara Clarke for contributing her professional skills unstintingly. On a personal note, I would also like to thank Carolyn D. Muir for her moral support; and T.K. Ghose, my husband, for giving me valuable ideas and for putting up with me through difficult times.

Rajeshwari Ghose

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CONTRIBUTORS: ARTICLES

Helmut **Brinker**	-	University of Zurich
Jan **Fontein**	-	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Retd.)
Rajeshwari **Ghose**	-	The University of Hong Kong
Chhaya **Haesner**	-	Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin
Puay-peng **Ho**	-	The Chinese University of Hong Kong
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Stephen **Little**	-	The Art Institute of Chicago
Liu Ming-wood	-	The University of Hong Kong
Ma Shichang	-	Beijing University
Krairiksh Piriya	-	Thammasat University, Bangkok
Don **Stadtner**	-	Sotheby's Education Institute, The University of London
Maurizzo **Taddei**	-	Instituto Universitario Orientale Dipartimento Di Studi Asiatici, Napoli
Marianne **Yaldiz**	-	Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin

CONTRIBUTORS: ENTRIES

MY	Marianne **Yaldiz**	- Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin
PP	Pratapaditya **Pal**	- The Art Institute of Chicago and Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena
CH	Chhaya **Haesner**	- Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin
CJ	**Chou** Ju-hsi	- The Cleveland Museum of Art
TB	Terese **Bartholomew**	- The Art Museum of San Francisco
PK	**Krairiksh Piriya**	- Thammasat University, Bangkok
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PPH	Puay-peng **Ho**	- The Chinese University of Hong Kong

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Robert **Hashimoto**, The Art Institute of Chicago, Department of Imaging and Technical Services	21, 24, 46, 49, 52, 54
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Alain **Mahuzier**	Don Stadtner's Article

A Note to the Readers

Diacritical marks have been used only for Sanskrit and Pali words and, where easily accessible, for loan words. However, where authors did not supply diacriticals for less well-known Thai, Old Javanese, and Pali-Burmese words etc., they have been left without diacritical marks. Modern place names appear without diacriticals. Due to constraints of time, certain arbitrary orthographic decisions had to be made which may appear inconsistent: e.g. while the modern city of Sarnath has been left without diacriticals, the city of Amaravati includes diacritical marks; while Cola is spelt as "Chola", chakra is spelt as "cakra." This was simply to make it easier for the reader to comprehend, as most modern books spell them in this manner. The entire bibliography and map entries have been left without diacritical marks.

A Guide to Sanskrit Pronounciation

Vowels

a = as in but
ā = as in rather
i = as in bit
ī = as in sleep
u = as in put
ū = as in rule
e = as in pay
ai = as in sigh
o = as in so
au = as in owl
ṁ = nasal m
c = as in chap
g = as in got
ṅ = as in song
ñ = a very nasal sound
ṇ = a very palatal sound

Consonants

Sanskrit consonants are both aspirated and non-aspirated. Aspirated words have been indicated with the addition of an h, eg. non aspirated ca, ja, ta, pa, ba when aspirated have been spelt as cha, tha, pha, bha and so on.

ṛ is a guttural sound.

Other pronounciations to be noted.

There are three s's: s as in see, ś as in ship, and a third ṣ, which is a guttural sound.

C as in chip, ch will be the aspirated sound.

t, d and n are dental sounds.

ṭ, ḍ and ṇ are palatal sounds and should be pronounced with the tongue against the roof of the mouth.

* *Errata*

Entries no. 7, 12, 13, 18 and the bibliography should not read as Asthana, S. *et al.* 1992 but as Palast der Gotter, 1992.

The word Kuṣāṇa has been spelt as Kuśāṇa throughout.

Selected Chronology

India	
6th–5th cent. BCE	Birth of Buddhism
Late 6th cent. BCE	King Darius, the Great of Iran conquers parts of northwestern India
327 BCE	Alexander the Great invades states on the Indus banks
321 BCE–187 BCE	Age of the Mauryas
c. 237–232 BCE	Reign of Aśoka and genesis of Buddhist art, Missionaries to Sri Lanka and parts of India
c. 256 BCE	Bactrian Greek principalities set up in northwestern India
187-75 BCE	Śuṅga Dynasty; Building of Bhārhūt stūpa and railings
1st cent. BCE–1st cent. CE	Śāka and Pārthian inroads into India Erection of Sanchi Stūpa gateways and railings
c. 1st cent. CE	Composition of the biography of the Buddha – Buddhacarita by Aśvaghoṣa
1st cent. CE	Romans plot the Monsoons and make sea trade safer
1st–3rd cent. CE	Rule of the Kuśāṇas; Rise of art schools in Gandhāra and in Mathura
2nd cent. BCE–3rd cent. CE	Amarāvatī School of Art in southeastern India
3rd cent. CE	The Sasanian rulers of Iran control Bactria, Gandharā and Sogdiana
320–600 CE	Age of Guptas. Mathura and Sarnath become renowned centres of Buddhist art
400 CE	Faxian visits India
325–625 CE	Vākāṭaka rule in Central India (The Deccan)
5th cent. CE	Ajanta – Later phase
5th–6th cent. CE	Invasion by the White Huns
6th cent. CE	Nālandā University receives royal patronage; becomes an International Buddhist University
6th–9th cent. CE	The Pallavas rule in Tamilnadu
630–643 CE	Xuanzang visits India
671 CE	Yijing visits India
8th–13th cent. CE	Pālās and their school of Art in Eastern India
850–1200 CE	Cholas dominate South India The Nāgapaṭṭiṇam school of Buddhist art, specially important in 10th c.
Myanmar (Burma): Art Schools	
c. 850–1300 CE	Pagan Period
c. 850–1120 CE	Early Pagan Period
c. 1120–1170 CE	Middle Pagan Period
c. 1170–1300 CE	Late Pagan Period Artistic centres move to the regions around Mandlay
Thailand: Art Schools	
5th–8th cent. CE	Mon Dvaravati
8th–10th cent. CE	Indo-Javanese
10th–13th cent. CE	Khmer Period
13th–15th cent. CE	Sukhothai
13th–14th cent. CE	U – Thong
Indonesia: Art Schools	
7th–10th cent. CE	Central Javanese period or Early Classical period Buddhist monuments: Borobudur, Meṇḍut, Pawon, Sewu, Sāri, Kalasan, Plaosan Plastic Art: Central Javanese school of Art (stone and bronze sculpture)
10th–15th cent. CE	East Javanese Period
929 CE	Shift of capital to East Java by Sindok
1222–1292 CE	Singhasari Period

1293–c.1513	Majapahit Dynasty Buddhist monument: Singhasari , (Śiva – Buddha; Hindu – Buddhist) Jāgo and Jāwi (Hindu – Buddhist) Plastic Art: East Javanese School of Art

Kampuchea : Art Schools

Early 7th c.–802 CE	Pre-Angkorian Schools
802 CE	Capital shifts to the Angkor region
9th-13th cent.	Angkor Period Buddhist monument and Plastic Art: 1050-66 Baphuon 1113-50 Angkor Wat 1190-1270 Bayon

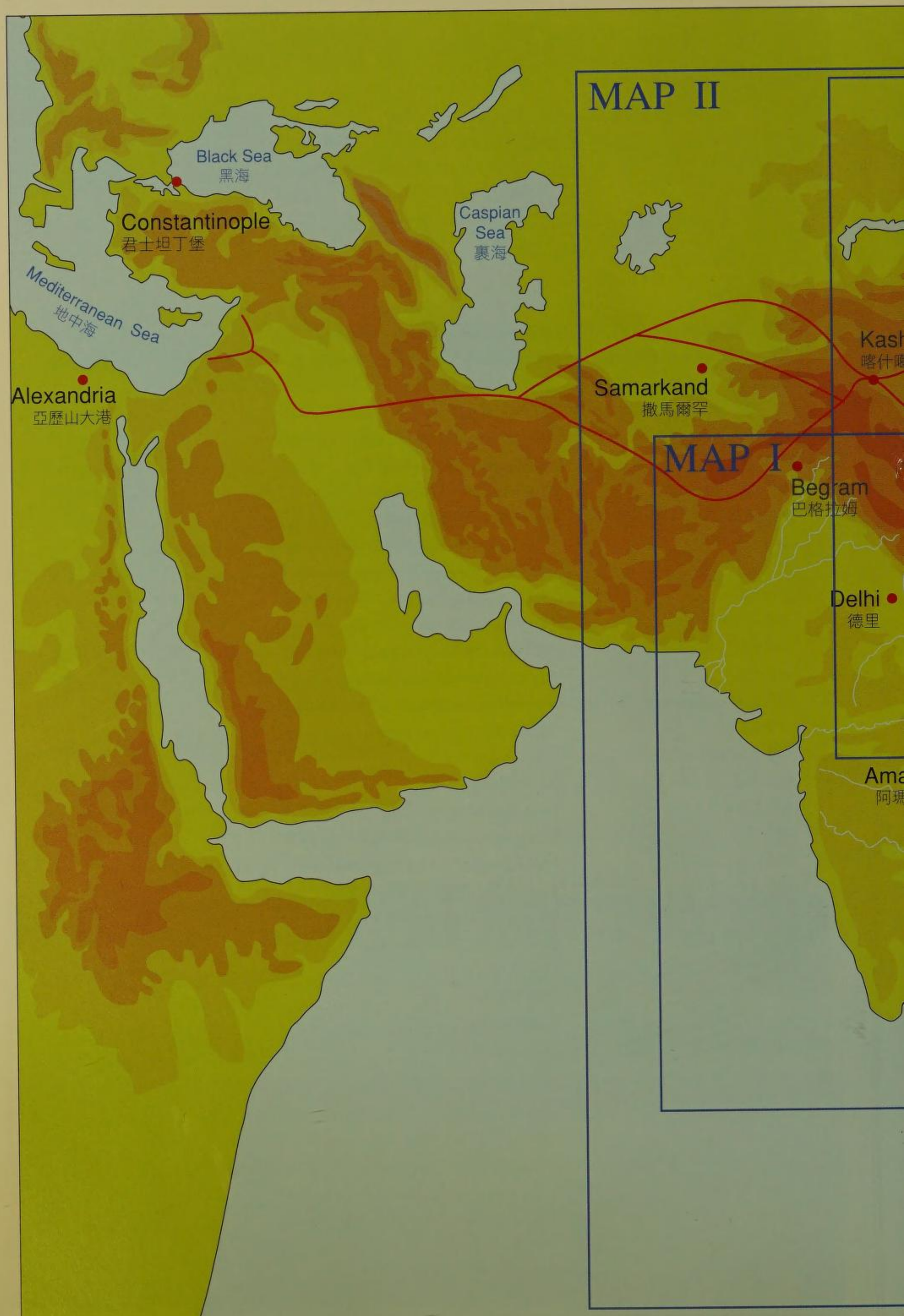
China

770–221 BCE	Eastern Zhou Dynasty
221–207 BCE	Qin Dynasty
206 BCE–24 CE	Western Han Dynasty
25–220 CE	Eastern Han Dynasty
65 CE	First Buddha Shrine said to be established
147 CE	Lokaksema arrives in Luoyang
195 CE	First popular image cast
220–280 CE	Three Kingdoms Period
260 CE	First Chinese Monk Zhu Shixing travels to the western region
	366 CE Beginning of excavation at Dunhuang grottoes
399 CE	Faxian leaves for India
420–589 CE	Northern and Southern Dynasties
446 CE	First Buddhist persecution
460 CE	Beginning of excavation at Yungang grottoes
500 CE	Beginning of excavation at Longmen grottoes
574 CE	Second Buddhist persecution
581–618 CE	Sui Dynasty
618–907 CE	Tang Dynasty
629 CE	Xuanzang leaves for India
671 CE	Yijing leaves Guangzhou by sea for India
754 CE	Monk Jianzhen arrives in Japan after five attempted crossings
838–845 CE	Japanese monk Ennin visits China
845 CE	Third Buddhist persecution
857 CE	Completion of the Great Eastern Hall of Foguangsi
907–979 CE	Five Dynasties
960–1279 CE	Song Dynasty
916–1125 CE	Liao Dynasty
1038–1227 CE	Jin Dynasty

Korea and Japan

372	Adoption of Buddhism in the Kingdom of Koguryŏ
384	Adoption of Buddhism in the Kingdom of Paekche
538–644 CE	Asuka period – Buddhism arrives in Japan
607 CE	Prince Shotoku sends envoy to the Sui dynasty
645–781 CE	Nara Period
782–1184 CE	Heian Period

General Map


Black Sea
黑海
Constantinople
君士坦丁堡
Mediterranean Sea
地中海
Alexandria
亞歷山大港
Caspian Sea
裏海
MAP II
Samarkand
撒馬爾罕
MAP I
Begram
巴格拉姆
Delhi
德里

AP III

Beijing
北京

Dunhuang
敦煌

Kyŏngju
慶州

Nara
奈良

Kyoto
京都

Datong 大同
(Pingcheng 平城)

Luoyang
洛陽

Xi'an 西安
(Chang'an 長安)

Lhasa
拉薩

Kathmandu
加德滿都

MAP V

Pagan
蒲金

Bangkok
曼谷

Phnom Penh
金邊

uradhapura
陀補羅

MAP IV

Borobudur
婆羅浮屠

Bali
峇里

MAP I The India Sub-continent and the Northwest

BACTRIA

FERGHANA

GANDHARA

KASHMIR

Bukhara 布哈拉

Samarkand 撒馬爾罕

Balkh 巴爾赫

Bamiyan 巴米安

Begram 巴格拉姆

Swat 斯瓦特
(Udyana 烏長)

Jalalabad 賈拉勒阿巴德

Sikri 西克里

Hadda 哈答

Jamalgarhi 賈馬爾葛利

Takht-i-Bahi 塔庫特伊巴希

Peshawar 白沙瓦

Srinagar 斯利那加

Taxila 達西拉

Manikyala 馬尼亞拉

Kapilavastu 迦毗羅城

Lumbini 藍毗尼

Piprahwa 皮普拉瓦

Sravasti 舍衛國

Kusinagara 拘尸那揭羅

Delhi 德里

Mathura 秣菟羅

Samkasya 僧伽施

R. Yamuna 琰毋那河

Vaisali 毘舍離

Paharpur 皮普拉瓦

Pataliputra 華氏城

Barabar 帕拉帕爾丘

Nalanda 那爛陀

Rajagrha 王舍國

Bharhut 巴盧特

Sarnath 鹿野苑

Bodh Gaya 佛陀伽耶

Calcutta 加爾各答

Besnagar 貝斯那喀爾

Bhilsa 貝德撒

Sanchi 桑奇

Bagh 巴格赫

Ajanta 阿旃陀

Ellora 埃羅拉

Kanheri 康乃利

Karli 迦爾梨

Bhaja 巴雅

Jaggyapetta
賈馬爾葛利

Nagarjunakonda
龍樹山

Amaravati
阿瑪拉瓦提

Nagapattinam 納加帕蒂南

Anuradhapura 阿難陀補羅

Polonnaruva 波隆納魯沃

Colombo 科倫坡

The Eight Major Events in the Life of the Buddha

1. Birth of Buddha 佛陀誕生
2. Place of Enlightenment 佛陀悟道
3. First Sermon 佛陀初轉法輪
4. Monkey Bringing Honey to the Buddha 猴子為佛陀獻蜜
5. Buddha Taming the Wild Elephant 佛陀馴服醉象
6. Miracle of Sravasti 舍衛國行神跡
7. Buddha Descended from Heaven 佛陀自忉利天降下
8. Parinirvana (His Passing Away) 佛陀涅槃

The Meeting of Minds: Buddhism as a Cross-Cultural Discourse

Rajeshwari Ghose

Lying at the crossroads of trade routes, Hong Kong's identity has, to a great extent, been shaped by its commercial interests. The territory's history which constitutes a chapter of 19th century European colonial expansion has also profoundly influenced its cultural world view, thus making it a truly international city.

In many ways this city therefore provides an ideal venue for this exhibition, the aim of which is to understand, albeit through one specific genre, namely Buddhist art, the context of a complex multicultural discourse of ancient times (*circa* 1st century BCE to *circa* 1200 CE).

Then too, civilizational contacts were generated by motives of commerce and the concomitant desire to exercise political control. The interaction of cultures, spreading from Rome to China, was initiated by traders and conquerors along the multifarious routes by land and sea, nicknamed, romantically but somewhat inaccurately, the 'Siedenstrasse' [1] or the 'Silk Road'. India, China and the intermediary stations along the ancient trails provided their own scripts for the Asian drama of the time and thus made the first millennium a truly dynamic period in the intellectual history of Asia.

The Pan-Asian discourse, which was itself part of a larger East-West discourse, was given an added dimension by Buddhist teachers, monks, scholars, pilgrims, lay followers and last, but most important, by artists and crafts persons with a mission of giving form to the abstract. This is not to say that the Buddhist discourse was the only one to prevail during the period but, by and large, it was a predominant one. There were other religio-cultural stimuli such as the Irano-Zoroastrian/Manichaean, Indo/Hindu, or the Nestorian Christian and, further east, the dominating Confucian-Daoist dialogue taking place; sometimes successively, but often concurrently. These ideologies left their strong impress on the visual and cultural memory of the region we now call, in a general sense, South East Asia* and Central Asia. Central Asia acted especially as a vast intermediary zone between the so-called 'West' and 'East'.

The South Asian Buddhist evangelists and their converts, coming as they did from the land where Buddhism was born, encountered civilisations that were psychologically ready to receive the new faith and respond to the new aesthetics. States and countries in Central Asia, South East and East Asia, responded to this stimulus, each in their own way. With every encounter, 'Buddha's Word' was appropriated by different peoples, expressed in different tongues and became increasingly more complex. Each culture transformed Buddhist teachings and iconography into forms closer to its own heart, which led to the creation of beliefs, ideas and art forms that were neither purely Indian, nor indigenous and not even a fusion of the two, but were governed by a completely new aesthetic and world view.

Thus the term 'influence', which often appears in this catalogue, must be taken for what it is, a peg on which to hang one's thoughts, since there was no single source of inspiration. We are dealing with a continous multilateral exchange of ideas and art forms (Fontein, *vide infra* p. 64) within an ongoing process of absorption, assimilation and transformation (Brinker, *vide infra* p. 124).

* The term South East Asia used in this article is adopted from post World War II SEATO terminology, and represents all the countries in this region mentioned by the author.

I. In the Footsteps

The contact between the two ancient civilisations of India and China was established in the early centuries of the Common Era by Buddhist monks from both countries with the monks from Central Asia providing the cultural nexus. A number of Chinese monks, mainly from northern China, undertook tortuous journeys across inhospitable terrains to reach India, the holy land of Buddhism.

In those distant times, many pilgrim monks never returned to where they began their journeys. Even more tragically, they often never reached the 'holy land'. The roll-call of the dead, particularly along the desert tracks of the awesome Taklamakan[2] is long and makes painful reading. The most famous Tang dynasty astronomer, mathematician and Buddhist monk Yijing's (682-727) obituary of the pilgrim Taoxi (whose Sanskrit name was *Śrideva*) reads: "This monk, encountering much hardship, reached India alone; ...his only ambition was to propagate *dhamma* but he could not spread the light. He never reached home. He died on the way" (Lahiri p.18). These words could well be applied to many more. The pilgrims suffered in silence along the desert trails, where in the words of Xuanzang "There are no birds ...no beasts ...there is neither water nor herb" (Beal transl. 1911, pp 21-22).

If this exhibition and catalogue can convey a little of the spiritual aesthetics of an ancient cross-cultural discourse initiated against enormous odds, and if this arouses in the beholder even the slightest reverence for the human quest for a meaning in life, then they will have more than succeeded in their objective.

Turning to the monk heroes of our story, they also had their moments of triumph and glory. Some returned to their places of origin and received accolades from their kings and emperors. In turn, the Buddhist fraternity of monks (the *saṅgha*), by supporting the monarchs and acting as their cultural emmissaries, provided both a 'horizontal and vertical' legitimisation of power for their patron states.[3] The monks also suffered the negative consequences of such a symbiotic relationship in the form of state persecutions, the earliest of which took place in China in 446 CE. Brinker, in his article in this catalogue, deals with the history and documentation by the Japanese monk Ennin (793-864) of one such period of Chinese persecution of Buddhism during the Tang dynasty (618-907) and the consequent destruction of a considerable amount of Buddhist art.

The monk pilgrims went to India in quest of authenticity and authority. This led them to collect vast bodies of Buddhist sacred writings and compile strict codes of discipline for the brotherhood of monks, the *saṅgha*. These were based on what they believed to be the original ordination rites performed by Śākyamuni, the founder. They were the pilgrims following '*in the footsteps of the Buddha*'. According to the Chinese Buddhist tradition, the first Chinese monk to reach India was Zhu Shixing (203-282), during the Wei period. The same tradition dates the arrival of two Indian monks in China to 57-75 CE during the Eastern Han dynasty (25-220 CE).

Unfortunately, Indian history has not preserved the names of the Indian scholars who went to China and who became an integral part of Buddhist history. In contrast, Chinese records have not only preserved the names of these Indian monks but also provide relatively detailed biographies of the Chinese Buddhist brethren who travelled to India in search of the 'true gospel'. When the monk pilgrims returned to China laden with scriptures, they immediately set about translating the works into Chinese. Luoyang (see Map V) became a great centre of Buddhism where multilingual translators from Central Asia, India and China meticulously translated vast tomes of sacred literature. The most famous of these, possibly because he was the earliest to arrive, was Anshigao, a Parthian scholar, who is believed to have worked in Luoyang between 148 and170 CE. Other famous names include: Lokakṣema (active 167-189) of Indo-Scythic origin, Kumārajīva (*circa* 340-410) of Indo-Kuchean parentage, and the Chinese monks Daoan

(312-385) and Huiyuan (334-416), all of whom patiently worked on the correct translation of words and ideas from Sanskrit into Chinese. By the mid 4th century, the translation bureau at Luoyang had translated 1,153 Buddhist texts. The first missionary translators of Buddhist texts into Chinese were primarily Soghdians (whose surnames began with Kang), Yueh Chi (with the surname Chi), and Parthians (with the surname An). For example, Anshigao translated the *Amitāyus Sūtra* in the year 148 CE. Luoyang was truly cosmopolitan, and we know of sixteen Central Asians, six Chinese and six monks of Indian origin who worked in the translation bureau in the very early years of Buddhism in China. The Central Asians came from Khotan, Kucha, Parthia and Soghdiana. In this early phase the most elegant translator was Kumārajīva (340-409), whose fame was so great that rulers of several Chinese states wanted him at their courts. He paid for his fame by being held a virtual prisoner for seventeen years by the ruler of Kucha.

Thus, the community of translator – monks in northern China, whose labours contributed to the development of Chinese Buddhism in its early formative phase, represented to a large extent an extension of Central Asian and Indian ideals.[4]

It is therefore not surprising to find what art historians collectively and eclectically term 'western' influences in early Chinese Buddhist art. By the term 'western' in this context they mean countries to the west of China, which also include India. Li Chongfeng addresses several relevant issues in his paper on the influence of Gandhāra and Mathura schools on early Chinese art. He cites a reference in a Chinese painting manual, *Xu guhuapin lu*, to three monk painters, one of whom, named Śākyabodhi, arrived in China from India during the Northern Wei period (386-534). These three monks are credited with introducing Indian art styles to China. Li furthermore elaborates on the 'Zhang' and 'Cao' styles, named after the artists responsible for introducing these new techniques/styles into China, and explains how they acknowledged Indic stimuli in their art forms.

The translators of Buddhist texts faced an enormous task both in linguistic and ideological terms. An ideographic writing system had to grapple with the grammatical and alphabetical language system of the Buddhist texts, be they Pāli, Prākṛt or Sanskrit. Moreover, a Confucian Daoist world view, based on historical awareness and on mainly secular assumptions, had to come to terms with Buddhism, with its extraordinarily varied imagery, complex discourses on the supranatural and abstruse theories of *karma*, reincarnations and rebirths.

Sūtras belonging to different philosophical schools were translated in rapid succession and there were considerable problems in reconciling and recording their diverse viewpoints. Liu (*vide infra* p. 102) discusses the enormous difficulties the translators had in these early years as they grappled, for example, with one philosophical concept and noumenal experience connoted by the Sanskrit term '*śūnyatā*'. This concept forms the essence of the so-called *Wisdom Sūtra*[5] (*Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*), which was translated into Chinese for the first time in the 2nd century CE by Zhi Chen. Liu traces the stages of absorption and assimilation, initially by means of the *geyi* technique, whereby Buddhist concepts were explained using Daoist terminology. Finally, by Sui (581-618) and Tang times, Buddhism was understood and established in China on its own terms, and different schools of Buddhism were categorised, with the Chinese penchant for order, into clearly named sects. Liu highlights the complexities inherent in early Chinese hermeneutics. Unfortunately for the non-Chinese reader, the English abstract only hints at the sophisticated nature of the arguments. These philosophical debates have profound implications for our understanding of the semantics of Buddhist art and thought.

Stephen Little examines the same proposition formulated by Liu but from a reverse perspective, addressing the 'rich and complex subject' of the influence of Buddhism on Daoist religion and art. He cautiously suggests that there was no specifically Daoist religious art before the full impact of Chinese

MAP II Pilgrim Róutes and Spread of Buddhism

Buddhist art made itself felt. The difficulties of rendering the term 'influence' in any simple understandable form are also evident as Little attempts to explain this process of interface between two ideological systems. Liu, Fontein, Brinker and Little confirm this author's view that the term 'influence' is problematic and should be used with caution.

This early process of understanding and interpreting a foreign stimulus was still ongoing when Faxian (340-420) left China for India and Sri Lanka (see Map II). The importance of Faxian lies in the fact that, while many monks attempted to reach India before him, he was the first to actually reach India, to study there and then return to China. At this time, only a comparatively small group of people were involved in the study and propogation of Buddhism in China. Following Faxian's voyage, however, hundreds of Chinese Buddhist pilgrims travelled to India between 400 and 700 CE. They travelled along both land and sea routes. Those following the overland route had to pass through Gansu, where the Dunhuang Grottoes are located, the earliest of which dates back to the 4th century CE.

Xuanzang (*circa* 602-664) and Yijing (635-713) are the best known pilgrim travellers, for they left prolific writings, not only of a canonical nature, but also in the form of popular travelogues. These travel records have served as major references for modern scholars reconstructing the history of Central Asia and India. In their accounts we find evocative descriptions of the wastelands of the Gobi desert (the western part of which is called the Taklamakan) along with myths coupled with fanciful legends. The authors also record their love for their Indian teachers and their sorrow at having been born so many

years after the death of the Buddha. The expression of such emotions towards their teachers and the Buddha, and the manner in which they are expressed, are motifs common to both Chinese travelogues and Indian Sanskrit Buddhist literature. A mixture of prose and poetry, which is characteristic of Sanskrit literature, was introduced into China by the Buddhists.[6] The epic journeys of the monks were romanticised in Chinese literature and many fictional accounts of their travels began to appear. One of the most popular was the record of travels of Xuanzang. This trend culminated in a 16th century novel called *Journey to the West* (*Xiyouji*) also known as *SunWukong*, the name of the the monkey accompanying the pilgrim, a take-off of Xuanzang's own account given in the *Xiyuji* (*Record of the Western World*).

Although the land route between India and China was older, the invention of the mariner's compass, advanced ship building techniques and the plotting of the monsoon winds meant that from the early years of the Common Era the sea route gradually came to be used more frequently. On his return journey to China, Faxian travelled by sea, leaving India from the port of Tāmralipti and first visiting Sri Lanka. Having been shipwrecked, he finally disembarked at a port in Shandong Province (see Map V). Following this, alongside the much written about silk roads across the Taklamakan, there were the shipping lanes from the southern port of Guangzhou through the South China Sea, the Indian Ocean and on to the Persian Gulf. During the Tang dynasty Japan and Korea were also linked to the port of Shandong in China, making the influences of Buddhism felt even further east of China (see Map V).

Shortly after Xuanzang's journey the overland route had to be temporarily abandoned because of political instability and the sea route became increasingly important. This is not to say that the land route was completely impassable.

Thus, while the intrepid traveller Xuanzang brought back six hundred and fifty-seven sacred books, innumerable images and icons in precious metals, and one hundred and fifty Buddhist relics across the desert oases dotted along the route in what is now called the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, Yijing followed the sea route (see Map II) and studied Sanskrit grammar and Buddhism in Śri Vijaya (Sumatra). In the course of his twenty-five year sojourn, Yijing visited more than thirty countries. He also studied at Nālandā University, where Xuanzang had studied a few decades previously. Yijing returned to China in 689 CE and in spite of repeated requests by the emperor, he refused to accept political office. He set to work translating the scriptures he had brought back and also compiled a biography of fifty-six Buddhist monk pilgrims who had travelled from China to India. Most of them were Chinese but there were also several Koreans and one from Soghdiana. Many of these monks took Sanskrit ordination names.

Coming to the subject of the sea lanes and the lands of South and South East Asia: Sri Lankan, Thai and Burmese Buddhist chronicles claim that during his lifetime Buddha visited these countries and several pilgrim sites are believed to mark his footprints. The migration of Buddhism by sea to Sri Lanka and South East Asia is also believed to date back to the time of the Emperor Aśoka (r. 269-232 BCE). Sri Lankan tradition dates the planting of the first *bodhi* tree in the city of Anurādhapura to the visit to the island of Saṅghamitrā, the daughter of Aśoka and the first known woman Buddhist missionary. As the contact with India was a phenomenon that touched diverse regions and lasted several centuries, Buddhism too must have reached the shores of these countries in very early times. The Pāli Buddhist canonical text *Niddesa* mentions several territories in South East Asia.

Intra-regional contacts at different historical periods led to a multilateral exchange of ideas. Thus for example we know that in the11th century a number of Burmese monks went to Sri Lanka to revive Siṅghala Buddhism, which had fallen into disarray in the wake of the Chola invasion of the island. They returned to Burma with Pāli texts and initiated a long period of cultural interaction between the two

countries. In the 12th and13th centuries several monks from South East Asia travelled to Sri Lanka to be ordained and to learn the Buddhist scriptures. The Mon monk, Chapata, is credited with the founding of a Siṅghala chapter in Burma in 1190, which rivalled the Burmese order established by Mon monks from Thaton (see Map IV). In the 19th century the position was reversed and Siṅghala monks sought ordination in Burma. Sukhothai in Thailand spearheaded the move to send Singhala-ordained monks to the regions of northern Thailand. In the same year, that is 1190, Tamalinda, the son of the Khmer monarch Jayavarman VII, accompanied Chapata to Sri Lanka.

That certain Buddhist centres in South East Asia were considered eminently worthy of visiting by a monk is made clear by Yijing, who states: "If a Chinese priest wishes to go to the 'west' to understand and read original Buddhist texts there, he would be wise to spend a year or two in Fo-Shih and practice the proper rules there; he might then go on to Central India" (cited by Coedés 1968, p. 81). Fo-Shih in the above text has been taken to refer to Śri Vijaya, presumably in present day Sumatra. Yijing not only went back to Fo-Shih on his return journey from India but revisited this place a third time as one of his teachers Śākyakīrti lived there. Mahāyāna teachers from eastern India played an important role in the spread of their doctrines and a number of such teachers are believed to have travelled to Indonesia and other countries in the region. A teacher by the name of Kumāraghosa was in the court of the Śailendra king and in the 8th century consecrated an image of Mañjuśrī in the temple of Kelurak (Bosch 1928, pp 1-56). The Buddhist university of Nālandā was closely connected to the Śailendras and, according to one inscription, monks from the Śailendra empire were provided with a foreign students' hostel in Nālandā. The precise location of the Śri Vijayan empire is still a matter of debate. It is evident that great Tantric teachers also contributed their learning to the Sri Vijayan court when we remember that Vajrabodhi, the famous Tantric teacher, visited Śri Vijaya in 717 CE. His young pupil, Amoghavajra, was an important Tantric *guru* in Java from where he set sail for China and became responsible for the spread of Tantric thought in China. Atīśa, who is represented by a beautiful bronze image in this catalogue, (cat. no. 61) is also believed to have stayed in Śri Vijaya, before his evangelising mission to Tibet.

Angkorean Cambodia, though predominantly Hindu, had several kings who patronised Buddhism. The Vat Sithor inscription referred to in this catalogue (p. 219) documents the prevalence of the Mahāyāna faith in Cambodia. The purpose of this short section is not to trace the history of Buddhism in South East Asia but to point out how many influences criss-crossed these shores and produced such complex responses to a stimuli arising in the 6th century BCE in the Gangetic basin of Central India.

II. An Iconic Journey

The rapid spread of Buddhism in China led to the growth of a corpus of myths, according to which several images of the Buddha are believed to have 'come flying' (*fei lai*) from India across Khotan, Kucha and other sites along the silk road to China. So began the iconic journey from India to China. Such images were known under the general rubric of '*ruixiang*' or 'auspicious images'. Such images were, according to Whitfield, painted in the Dunhuang murals with labelled inscriptions "and a record of images, generally sculptures, of particular importance for Buddhism" (Whitfield 1995, p. 149). "In practice, these were the images of Buddha, brought by monks along with Buddhist texts, that were to serve as models for those making images in distant parts, whether as small portable icons, paintings or large images, modelled in clay stucco or carved from the rock in cliff-face monasteries hollowed out by the concerted effort of believers. Examples of this genre are found at Dunhuang in several caves of the middle Tang period (781-848)" (Whitfield 1995, p.149). Li Chongfeng also refers to related issues in his

paper. Brinker refers to an Eastern Han text that mentions the popular story of the Chinese Emperor, Han Mingdi, who saw a golden apparition in his dream. The wise men at his court told him that this could well be an image of the Buddha, and thereupon he sent envoys to India to bring 'the sacred image' to China (Brinker, *vide infra* p. 119 en 5). Brinker, citing popular Buddhist tradition, places this event between 64 and 75 CE.

Such images were supposed to have an inherent magical quality. Daoan is said to have acquired a foreign gilded image, seven feet high, which was not necessarily aesthetically pleasing but iconically surcharged with the spirit of the Buddha. This was because a relic of the Buddha was interred inside it, and hence the image could not be reworked to suit the artistic impulses of the Chinese aesthete. When the metalworker began to melt the image in order to reshape the *uṣṇīṣa*, which to Chinese eyes was 'incongruous', a miracle occured and Daoan's verdict that the statue was a 'wonder working one' was accepted by one and all present and it was decided not to recast it (Brinker 1998, p. 149). Brinker uses the term 'miraculous icon' for such images with magical potency.

According to the Chinese pilgrims Faxian and Xuanzang, the first images representing the Buddha Gautama were made in his lifetime by two faithful disciples, the Indian Kings Prasenajit and Udayana. These kings are reported to have made two statues in the likeness of their master during his absence, when he rose to the heavens of the thirty-three gods (*trayatriṁśah*) to preach *dhamma* (Pāli) to his deceased mother Queen Māyā. One was of gold and the other of red sandalwood (Soper 1959, p. 259). A copy of the second image was subsequently believed to have been carried off to China by Kumārajīva together with many sacred texts. Japanese tradition claims that this statue is now at the Seiryo-ji in Kyoto and that it provided the model for all other Japanese statues representing the Buddha (Butsuzo, *Hobogirin III*, p. 259ff, cited by Frederic 1995, p. 79). Another Chinese legend states that in 122 BCE an image of the Buddha was sent to the emperor of China. The Japanese tradition is probably a late 7th century version of an earlier Chinese legend.

The Pāla Buddha (cat. no. 24) is believed to represent the Udayana type of Buddha image "which occurs in a highly standardised manner in the artistic repertoires of Central Asia (the Khotan region), China, Japan and Tibet" (Huntington and Huntington 1990, p. 139).

Because of both magical qualities associated with specific images and the strict codification in iconometric canons of the proportions etc., the rules regarding the making of these icons became fairly standardised. John Huntington (1985, p. 29) refers to a Buddhist iconometric text, a Chinese *sūtra* called '*Buddha spoken Buddha-image making sūtra*', and cites its source in *Korean Buddhist Canon Number 281*. Schroeder cites an iconometric text in Sri Lanka called the *Śāriputra* (Schroeder 1990, p. 34), which states "If a statue is made with a hollow body there will be ...strife and quarrelling ...famine ...and the king will be ousted. One should not subtract even half a finger's breadth from prescribed proportion or add a single barley corn".

Thus copies of sacred images were repeatedly made by different schools of art all over the Buddhist world with a view to imbuing the image with the magical qualities of the original. Given such a belief in the efficacy of the 'original' images, dating on a stylistic basis becomes an extremely difficult task. This difficulty is ably discussed in Piriya Krairiksh's article in the context, not of Chinese, but of Thai Buddhist images and the problems of their dating. Krairiksh challenges traditionally held views and has presented a delightfully iconoclastic article on Thai icons (*vide infra* pp 81-87). However, despite this process of copying copies, specific styles did evolve and several examples and schools can be dated within a reasonably acceptable spectrum. In the case of China, Brinker draws our attention to the fact that several icons of the early period have dates on them, which makes the task of the art historian considerably less onerous.

Since literary or, more specifically, canonical traditions attribute a very early date to the origin of Buddha images, art historians are faced with a major problem because they are unable to locate material artefacts in the form of icons to conclusively date the earliest Buddha image. This difficulty has not deterred scholars, however, and periodically new sources emerge and rekindle an old controversy, or new interpretations of old sources are offered, but are dismissed for lack of proof. The date when the first Buddha image was made still remains an enigma.

Pal discusses some of the problems inherent in new theories, which he playfully entitles 'Much Ado About a Little Clay Pot' (Pal 1989, pp 73-75). In this article he cites several works written since the 1980s on the origin of the Buddha image. Authors of several of these publications wish to push the date of the earliest Buddha image back to at least the 1st century BCE. In this context, it may be interesting to point out that the most recent 'evidence' supporting this early date was believed to have been provided by a Chinese clay pot with a Buddha figure seated in *bhūmisparśamudrā* with a flaming nimbus and a Han inscription, dated to a year corresponding to 36 BCE. Unfortunately, this pot, in the National Museum of History, Taipei, has now been proved to be a Qing dynasty fake.

III. The Genesis of the Faith

III.1 Buddha and Buddhas

The historicity of the Buddha is no longer doubted. It is generally accepted that he lived for eighty years, although identifying precisely the historical period covered by this eighty-year life span is still a matter of intense debate. Vast tomes of research material on the Buddha's chronology are available but we are no closer to the truth now than when the research began in the 19th century. The sources are multiple and often contradictory. Dating early Buddhist texts is, to put it mildly, fraught with problems. There is a general lack of independently verifiable sources, and the considerable emotion invested in these debates sometimes make them polemical.

The Theravāda tradition (see below) has officially declared 544-543 BCE to be the date of the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*. The discrepancy of one year, as Bechert points out (1991, p. 2, fn 3) is not due to the adoption of a different system of reckoning but simply because in Sri Lanka, Myanmar and India the year of the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* is treated as year one, whilst in Thailand, Kampuchea and Laos the event marks year zero. This is the starting point of the *Buddhaśāsana era*, which is used by the Buddhists of South and South East Asia. The 2500th anniversary was celebrated by the Theravāda countries in1956. The rather interesting 'dotted record'[7] tradition of the Chinese places the *parinirvāṇa* in 486 BCE (Bechert 1991, p. 6). The spectrum of dates suggested by several contributors to Bechert's volume is frustratingly broad, ranging from 2420 BCE to 290 BCE. Bechert himself favours a date for the *parinirvāṇa* between 400-350 BCE. In this catalogue we have adopted the broad dateline of 6th-5th century BCE, between what scholars call the 'uncorrected long chronology' (544-543 BCE) and the 'corrected long chronology' (*circa* 486 BCE, Bechert 1991, p. 2, fn 3).

The next issue centres on the historical versus the mythological Buddha. How does one separate history from myth? While some writers treat the Buddha as a purely mythological figure, others feel that they can separate the two and thereby cull out the 'biography' from the 'hagiography' of the Buddha. Such attempts go back to the days of Buddhologists such as Oldenberg and Kern. It was Barth who pithily expressed the different emphases of these two authors by stating that in the account of Kern the historical Buddha is absent, whereas the 'god' is missing in the work of Oldenberg (cited by Banerjee1989, p. 48). More recently, Derrett (1995) has tried to separate the human Buddha from the mythological

Buddha, just as he attempted to do with Christ. To a believing Buddhist, like a believing Christian, the historical, mythological and cosmological aspects of the teacher are not necessarily conflicting ideas but simply images of the Master valid at multiple levels.

Even very early in the development of Buddhist theology, the idea that there was not one but several Buddhas was a commonly accepted notion. 'Buddha' is not the name of a person, but designates a type. In Sanskrit the word Buddha means 'fully Enlightened' and in cosmic time several Buddhas are said to have appeared in the past. In the early portions of the *Dighanikāya*, only six Buddhas are mentioned before the 'historical' Buddha. Buddhists are also aware of historical time, and in this time frame Buddha Śākyamuni was born in the 6th century BCE (the chronology adopted in this catalogue) as the Buddha of our time. In later works the number of Buddhas before the historical Buddha is enumerated as twenty-four, but subsequently the number was vastly exaggerated.

That he would be a Buddha of our time was foretold aeons ago by Dīpaṅkara, his twenty-fourth predecessor. In that particular existence, Śākyamuni was called Megha and (according to the Sanskrit Buddhist work the *Mahāvastu*) was blessed by Dīpaṅkara who prophesied that he would be reborn in another birth in Kapilavaṣtu (see Map I) as "a fully Enlightened Buddha, perfect in knowledge and conduct ...a teacher of gods and men". Dīpaṅkara further told him: "Like me you will have a body adorned with the thirty two marks of a superman, and with the eighty subsidiary characteristics ...Having crossed you will lead others across; freed you will free others; comforted you will comfort others; having won *nirvāṇa* you will help others to win it – as I do just now" (Conze 1959, p. 24). When our aeon of time comes to an end, the Bodhisattva Maitreya, who waits in the Tuṣita heaven, will descend and be born as the future Buddha and do for that future aeon what the Buddha Sākyamuni did for our's: teach, lead, comfort and help others to attain *nirvāṇa*.

Śākyamuni had to go through five hundred and fifty births (the number can sometimes be different but only slightly) before he could be born in Kapilavastu, ready for his last birth and his Buddhahood. These previous lives, wherein he practised every virtue as envisaged by the Buddhist ethical system, provide interesting narratives collectively called the *jātaka* or birth stories, which proved an inexhaustible source for early Buddhist narrative art. The Buddha-to-be in all these stories is called the Bodhisattva.

This cosmic personality did not detract from the Buddha having an earthly existence and a mundane biography, albeit often indistinguishable from a hagiography.

III.2 Life of the Buddha: Importance for narrative and iconic art

Apart from literary evidence, there are also sporadic archaeological and epigraphic references that corroborate the historicity of the Buddha. Recent archaeological research has shown that Piprāhwa and the adjacent mound of Ganwaria marked the ancient site of Kapilavastu, the capital of the Śākya clan. As seen above, it was prophesied that Śākyamuni (literally, the wise man of the Śākya clan) would be born here and become the Buddha of our aeon. The Rumindei Pillar Edict of Emperor Aśoka, dated to the 3rd century BCE, records the royal visit to, and marking the place of, the Buddha's birth at Lumbini on the Nepalese side of the Indo Nepalese border (see Map I) with the words 'Here was the *tathāgatha* born'. The term *tathāgatha* refers to the transcendental essence of Śākyamuni. More direct evidence of the historicity of the Buddha Śākyamuni was obtained from the Indian side of the border (Peppe 1898), when the *stūpa* at Piprāhwa yielded a soapstone relic casket that contained, according to the inscription engraved upon it, 'the corporeal relics of the Lord Buddha'.

It is curious that there is no complete biography of the life of Śākyamuni in the Buddhist canons, although individual episodes find mention in several works. The first account which can be called a

biography is that of the 1st century CE poet Aśvaghoṣa, called the *Buddhacarita* or The Life (or Acts) of Buddha. The first thirteen cantos are preserved in Sanskrit, the remaining fifteen are lost to us in the original and exist only in the Tibetan and Chinese translations. Aśvaghoṣa recounts the life of Śākyamuni from birth to *parinirvāṇa* or the Great Decease. In fact, Aśvaghoṣa goes even further and describes the distribution of the corporeal relics of the Buddha and the writing down of the scriptures by an assemblage of five hundred monks. Over the centuries, artists and crafts persons were particularly partial to certain scenes of this 'sacred drama'. We find such scenes carved on stone, wrought in metal, painted on walls, banners and canvasses of all kind, and even enacted on stage as dance dramas.

Another important text dealing with the life of Śākyamuni is called the *Lalitavistāra*. The term '*lalita*' carries the connotation of 'sport' or 'play' and is a concept familiar to the Hindus as '*līlā*' or divine sport. In this text the Buddha is conceived in supra-human (*lokottara*) terms. An early sect, called the *lokottara* (belonging to the school of *mahāsaṅghika*), believed in the predominantly transcendental nature of the Buddha. The *Lalitavistāra* also emphasises the miraculous powers of the Buddha. It is believed that the *Lalitavistāra* was translated into Chinese four times, though two of the early translations are now lost; an extant version dating to 308 CE was written by a monk called Dharmarakṣa. It consists of twenty-seven chapters and the narrative ends with the First Sermon of the Buddha. It was probably first written down in the 1st century of the Common Era.

As mentioned earlier, another set of stories which dealt not with the life of the historical Śākyamuni but with the many births before his appearance in our aeon of time as the Buddha, are collectively called the *jātaka*. In these stories the Buddha recalls his former lives. Around the 4th-5th centuries CE the five hundred and forty seven *jātaka* stories were rendered from poetry into prose. They are classified by a strange and complicated method based on the number of stanzas each text contains. Thus, those with only one stanza form the first section or *nipāta* and so on up to the last section, which is very long and not classified according to the number of stanzas. Another body of literature called the *avadāna* dealt with the virtuous deeds of noble characters, be they Bodhisattvas, kings or even women; a well known example of the last category being the *Rūpavatī avadāna*. As the primary purpose of an *avadāna* was to impress upon the devotees the principle of cause and effect (that is, 'a good deed produces good fruit'; an evil deed produces evil results), they were often presented as if they were introduced by the historical Buddha himself, much in the fashion of the *jātaka*. *Avadāna*, as a genre, glorified the Bodhisattva ideal and in that sense is seen as a bridge between Theravāda and Mahāyāna Buddhism (see below). Often the stories were collected into anthologies such as the *Avadānaśataka* (The Hundred *Avadāna*), or the *Divyāvadāna* (Celestial *Avadāna*). The first work was translated into Chinese in the early 3rd century CE. The *avadāna*, along with the *jātaka,* formed popular subject matter not only of early Buddhist reliefs from India but also of painting in the Buddhist caves of Kizil on the northern Silk Road and in Dunhuang in China.

The 2nd-1st century BCE *stūpa* at Bhārhūt (see Map I) is one of the earliest monuments on which panels of narratives were carved. Although this *stūpa* is no longer in existence, several architectural and sculptural fragments of this structure are preserved in different museums. Sixty percent of this *stūpa* has disappeared, but judging from the remaining forty percent, it is clear that the *jātaka* stories were represented more often than the life of the historical Buddha. Vidya Dehejia has pointed out that of the preserved ninety reliefs at Bhārhūt, forty-five are visual representations of *jātaka* tales and only seventeen pertain to the life of the historical Buddha, while the remaining reliefs are non-narrative (Dehejia 1997, p. 98). The slightly later Sanchi *stūpa* (still *in situ*) shows, on the other hand, a marked shift in preference with the life of the historical Buddha receiving much more space; only five *jātaka* tales are portrayed as opposed to forty scenes of the life of Buddha (Dehejia 1997, p. 122). At Amarāvatī (see Map I) the life

story of the Buddha is also given more importance than the *jātaka* tales.

A number of detailed scenes of the life of Buddha are portrayed in Gandhāran art and many of the episodes depicted are based on the *Lalitavistāra*. From both their number and the heirarchic nature of their positioning within the architectural canvas, it is quite obvious that the life of the Buddha was considered far more important than the *jātaka* stories. The *jātaka* were often positioned along the stair risers which is a place where episodes of the life of Buddha are not found. Furthermore, the Gandhāran monastics, by means of several apocryphal texts, legitimised the sites in Gandhāra as pilgrimage centres. Several episodes mentioned in the *jātaka* stories were believed to have taken place in Gandhāra (see Map I) and, according to these later legends, the historical Buddha was believed to have actually visited Gandhāra. The fact that there was no historical basis for such stories did not undermine (for the faithful) the sanctity of the pilgrim spots.

By the time of the Guptas (4th-7th centuries CE), there was a codification of the narrative into a cryptic pattern. The scenes were grouped together into a set of the eight most important events in the life of the Buddha. This group of eight evolved out of an earlier group of four episodes in the life of the Master. These groups of four and eight were closely connected with the Buddhist pilgrimage tradition, which celebrated not only the event but also the place where the event took place and hence provided a canonically prescribed route for pilgrims to follow. [8]

In the early days pilgrimage was made to the four great sites celebrating the major events in the life of the Buddha. These were his birth in Kapilavastu; his attaining *bodhi* at Bodh Gaya (cat. nos 25 and 26); his First Sermon in Sarnath;[9] and his Great Decease (*mahāparinirvāṇa* in Kuśinagara (see Map and cat. no. 16) where his final parting words were that all things which aggregate and come into being have, by the very law of existence, to disaggregate and dissolve. He exhorted followers to be mindful and vigilant so that peace may be with them when life draws to an end.

There were other pilgrim sites which were also regarded as sacred, and the artists of the Gupta period chose four other major events that took place at specific sites which later became centres of pilgrimage. Sometimes many important events took place at the same site, but only one of these was chosen to be included in the group of eight. The city of Vaiśāli (see Map I), where Śākyamuni grew up as a young prince of the Śākya clan, was thus closely connected with several incidents in his life, but the one chosen by Gupta artists to be included in the sacred group of eight was that of the monkey offering the Buddha honey. Aśvaghoṣa emphasises that Vaiśāli was an important place in the life of the Buddha by recounting the Buddha's last sojourn in this city. The Buddha is recorded by the poet as saying, "O Vaiśāli, this is the last time I see you. For now I am preparing for *nirvāṇa*" (meaning in this instance his death). In the city of Rajagṛha the Buddha tamed the wild elephant Nalagiri, which was set loose on him by his jealous cousin Devadatta, the archetypal villain in Buddhist narratives. At Śrāvastī he performed several miracles collectively called 'The Miracle of Śrāvastī': he multiplied himself into many; he had tongues of flame shooting from his shoulders and water jetting forth from his feet (*yamaka-prātihārya*), a theme commonly portrayed in Gandhāran art; and he made a mango tree instantly burst forth from a seed.[10] At Saṁkasya he descended from the heaven of the thirty-three gods where he had gone to visit his deceased mother and preach his doctrines to her. The Hindu gods Brahmā and Indra honoured him by accompanying him on his return journey to earth. These eight events are generally referred to as the Eight Great Miracles.

Some of these miracles do not occur in the Aśvaghoṣa biography but are later embellishments. This tradition of depicting the Eight Miracles combining the iconic and narrative elements was popularised by the Gupta artists and standardised by artists in the Pāla period (8th-12th centuries). There is a wonderful Pāla example of such a grouping in our catalogue (no. 24), which also appears on the cover.

Narrative art was a dominant Buddhist mode till Gupta times and hence the life of the historical Buddha provided the most important source. After this period the interest in narratives was lost and, as seen above, narratives became part of an iconic composition.

III.3 Aniconism and/or Multivalent Emblematism?

The above subtitle encompasses the essence of a current and on-going debate between two scholars: Susan Huntington and Vidya Dehejia. Before we address the issues raised in this recent debate, it would be worthwhile to define the tern 'aniconic' as used traditionally by art historians to refer to a particular manner of narration in early Buddhist art. The term aniconic was popularised by Foucher in his writing of the 1920s. It simply means depiction of a narrative in a relief in which the Buddha's presence is indicated by symbols or emblems as an 'absent signifier' and in which the anthropomorphic (human) form of the Buddha is absent. A visual reference to Buddha's presence was made by the artist using a wide range of symbols or emblems such as footprints, an empty throne, a *bodhi* tree etc. Such a tradition was also known to early Christian art in which Christ was represented by symbols.

The term aniconism is mentioned in entries in this catalogue at least twice (cat. nos 2 and 3) and the aniconic nature of narratives is presumed in the argument presented in Section III.2 above that in Sanchi the life of the Buddha provided the predominant theme for narrative sculptures. According to the traditional aniconic interpretation, there are several scenes in Sanchi that tell the story of the Buddha without the anthropomorphic representation of the figure of the Buddha.

Early art historians believed that the aniconic phase was a Hīnayāna or Theravāda contribution and they further associated the anthropomorphic form of the Buddha with the rise of Mahāyāna (see Section IV below). Such a simplistic argument has now been totally abandoned. We know that at least in its affective dimension, Theravādins worshipped the Buddha image in much the same fashion as the Mahāyānists and some of the early images were dedicated by Theravādins. Both at Bhārhūt and Sanchi, as well as at Amarāvatī, the aniconic form was popularly used to depict events from the sacred biography of the Buddha.

Following upon Susan Huntington's critical appraisal of what she calls 'theories of aniconism', an academic debate has been set in motion.[11] Huntington objects to the indiscriminate use of the term aniconic and points out that not all works of Buddhist art traditionally interpreted as aniconic images are, in fact, aniconic. She also emphatically states that while some works can be interpreted by the aniconic argument, "the vast majority of artistic compositions that have been explained as aniconic ...do not portray substitutes for anthropomorphic representations of the Buddha". She suggests another alternative interpretation – that these so-called aniconic emblems were representations of sacred sites and hence connected to a pilgrimage tradition. They could also refer to actual scenes of worship at sacred sites. Dehejia critiques some of Huntington's arguments and proposes a theory of multivalence, in which she argues that emblems can simultaneously carry multiple levels of meaning. Thus, the *bodhi* tree could stand for a pilgrimage site, to exalt lay worship or as an event from the sacred biography of the Buddha. Dehejia amalgamates traditional aniconic theories and theories of pilgrimage sites suggested by Huntington. I cannot do full justice to the arguments put forward by both Huntington and Dehejia in this general introduction. I would, therefore, refer the interested reader to the references mentioned in Footnote 11. Suffice to say here that Buddhist art used several symbols in the telling of a story. Whether the story was one of a group of followers offering worship at a pilgrimage centre and/or referred to a scene in the life of the Buddha, or was intended as a *double entendre*, is left for the reader to judge.

IV. Buddhism and its Schisms: Impact on Art

The terms Theravāda and Mahāyāna have found frequent mention in the above sections. The rise of new schools of thought, which crystallised over a period of time into what one could cautiously term 'sects', had a profound impact on Buddhist art and iconography. Hence this section will briefly examine these sectarian schisms and the consequent expansion of iconic types.

Tradition has it that upon the death of the Buddha, Kāśyapa, one of the disciples, assembled five hundred *arhats* (monks, Chinese *louhan*) and the *Tripiṭaka* or The Three Baskets, consisting of the monastic rules (*vinaya*), the sayings of the Buddha (*sūtra*) and the commentaries (*Abhidhamma*), were organised into an official Buddhist canon. This was probably still orally transmitted. A hundred years later a second council was held at Vaiśāli. Schisms arose and several sects developed. The adherents of the older sect were called *thera* in Pāli, or *sthaviras* (the ancients) in Sanskrit, which gave rise to the name of the school Theravāda. Under the royal patronage of the Buddhist monarch Aśoka, a third council was held in 242 BCE and missionaries were sent all over the subcontinent and to Sri Lanka. The Pāli canon, as drawn up by this council, became the official version of Theravāda Buddhism. Meanwhile, schisms multiplied. The fourth council was held under the patronage of Kaniṣka, the King of the Kuśāṇas, somewhere in the latter part of the 1st century CE, in Jālandhara in Kashmir. Here the divisions became obvious between the Theravāda and the newly emerging Mahāyāna Buddhists. The Great Mahāyāna teachers like Nāgārjuna (Chinese Long Shu), who lived around the 2nd century CE, popularised this school. The transition was gradual and, as seen in an earlier section, the Theravādins had already begun a process of regarding the Buddha as supramundane (*lokottara*). This idea was further developed by the Mahāyāna school. *Jātaka* and *avadāna* literature was very popular in the early years of the Common Era and, as we have seen, these texts articulated the Bodhisattva ideal in contradistinction to the monkly ideal of the Theravāda school.

Bodhisattvas were beings who, although in a state of spiritual attainment that would permit them to enter into Buddhahood, refrained from doing so till every sentient being could attain *nirvāṇa*. Their self-sacrifice is glorified in the Mahāyāna scriptures and hence the believers in this form of Buddhism call themselves the followers of the Great Path or the Great Vehicle, (i.e., *mahā+yāna* = Mahāyāna). They also looked down on the *arhat* ideal as being selfish in seeking only one's own salvation, and hence the followers of Mahāyāna referred to the Theravāda school in a deogatory manner as the Small Path or Vehicle (*hīna+yāna*). The Bodhisattva vows that as far as any conceivable form of being is conceived, "all these I must lead to *nirvāṇa*" (*Diamond Sūtra*, Conze trans. 1959, p. 164). The notion that all beings had a potential for Buddhahood, since they were possessed of *bodhicitta* or Buddha consciousness, not only made the position of the laity more noble and inclusive, but also created a vast new world of Bodhisattvas and other spiritual beings. As the Bodhisattvas increasingly became personifications of a particular trait of the Buddha personality, their numbers expanded in the immeasurable world of *dharma* (Sanskrit). Thus, the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī represents Wisdom, Avalokiteśvara Compassion and so on.

Even in Theravāda a few Bodhisattvas were already known. Thus, for example, Maitreya (cat. nos 28 and 43), a unique figure combining the roles of Buddha-to-be and a Bodhisattva waiting to be born as a Buddha, was known to both Theravāda (or Hīnayāna) as well as Mahāyāna iconography. His name occurs in Theravāda scriptures as does that of Avalokiteśvara in Theravāda countries such as Sri Lanka. However, the vast pantheon of Bodhisattvas such as Samantabhadra, Mañjuśrī, Kṣitigarbha and a host of others are part and parcel of Mahāyāna iconography and do not occur in Theravāda iconography.

Mahāyāna also introduced the concept of the three *kāya* or Bodies: The Body of Essence (*dharmakāya*); The Body of Bliss (*sambhogakāya*); and The Body of Transformation (Proof or the Empirical

Body, *nirmāṇakāya*). The historical Buddha belonged to the category of the Body of Transformation. The Body of Essence was the Transcendental Body of the Teaching. The word *tathāgatha* is used in different contexts, which makes it a little confusing. Basically it refers to the Transcendental nature of Buddha. The *Diamond Sūtra* explicitly states that "*Tathāgatha* is called one who has not gone to anywhere, and who has not come from anywhere. Therefore he is called ...the Fully Enlightened one" (Conze 1959, p. 166). In this case the *Diamond Sūtra* is referring to *tathāgatha* as the Body of Essence or the *dharmakāya*. This body connects all the Buddhas of the Past with the Buddhas of the Present and Future. Though there are many Buddhas there is only one Body of Essence. When this Body of Essence is called on to fulfil the needs of the Bodhisattvas, it appears in the Form of Bliss (*sambhogakāya*) as a magnificent spectacle of light, with light emanating from every pore of its Body, and as harmonic sound (*dhamma* or the teaching of the Buddha) flooding the universe. Thus a dramatic concept of an infinite universe, interconnected and yet which in its *fundamentum* is *śūnya* or 'Void' of independent existence, was created by Mahāyāna scriptures. The *Avataṁsaka Sūtra* creates this noumenal experience in the following manner:

> "When One subtle sound pervades the universe and one strand of hair measures infinity, views of great and small disappear. Others and self are [the] same body – knowledge pervades – conditioned sensations are gone" (Cleary 1989, p. 32).

The *Avataṁsaka Sūtra* then goes on to explain that the interpeneteration of **one** and **many**, the disappearance of the boundaries of the real and artificial, of affirmation and negation, is called the realm of Truth. The artists, sculptors and architects of Borobodur in Central Java tried to give form to the spiritual quest of Sudhana, one of the protagonists in a chapter of this complex text, who finally arrives at the soteriological point after a long spiritual journey (Fontein 1966).

In terms of visual representation, such a vast image of paradise with celestial beings of great beauty and divine music wafting through the air was the artists delight, and Mahāyāna iconography provided ample scope for their imagination. It is to Mahāyāna sensibility, not necessarily the Mahāyāna faith or philosophy, that we owe some of the magnificent murals of Ajāntā, Bamiyan, Kakrak, Kizil, Kumtura, Bezeklik and Dunhuang, to name just a few.

Personification of ideas, as we have seen, occurs on a large scale in Mahāyāna Buddhism. Thus Perfect Wisdom in combination with Perfect Virtue is called Prajñāpāramitā and is envisioned as a female deity. The Bodhisattvas are each assigned a female consort collectively known as Tārā, and another new category of Buddhas, called the *dhyāni* Buddhas (cat. no. 42) who are between the ultimate transcendental (Primeaval Buddha) and the immanent stages of the Buddha, make their appearance. In the later form of Mahāyāna, called Tantric Buddhism, each of these five transcendental Buddhas is envisaged as heading its own lineage. This is marked iconographically by portraying the respective Buddha (as head of the lineage) on the crown of the other divine members of the lineage. Bhattacharya (1985 p. 350 and p. 369, fn 3) points out how the term *dhyāni* Buddha was first introduced by Hodgson in 1926, and how these transcendental Buddhas are simply called Buddha, *jina* or *tathāgatha* in Sanskrit, the very terms by which Śākyamuni is also designated. He therefore justly regards the term *dhyāni* Buddha as a term of convenience, "a designation which is not to be found in any Buddhist Sanskrit text" (Bhattacharya 1985).

Thus the whole universe of Mahāyāna unfolded into magnificent, eternal, and countless myriad worlds inhabited by Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Tārā and other personages. When Nāgārjuna, the expounder of the Mādhyamika school of philosophy, propounded the doctrine of *śūnya* or the Great Void, the

iconographer translated this philosophical category, this noumenal experience into a female figure called Niratmā or Nairatmyā (literally, no-soul; see cat. no. 54).

By about the 6th century CE Mahāyāna had further evolved into Vajrayāna, or Tantric Buddhism, with its rich language of similes and metaphors that were translated into concrete icons. If Wisdom was a woman and Compassion a man then the perfect union of the two partners would symbolise, in the Tantric practioner's view, the highest category of experience. The word Tantric is derived from the Sanskrit word *tantra*, a word which is hard to define but has a limited and conventional meaning of esoteric literature. It is believed to be the third and final interpretation of the teachings of the Buddha and the path is called Tantrayāna. There are several schools of Tantric Buddhism, the most frequently heard name being Vajrayāna in which the *vajra* or thunderbolt provides the dominant symbol. Tantric Buddhism was highly involved with the concepts of identifying the macrocosm with the microcosm, and this led to the whole complex process of the visualisation, and hence invocation and positioning, of deities in ones own body, similar to the *nyāsa* rites of the Hindus. Thus, for example, the Tantras tell us that "The worshipper should conceive himself as the god of the name of ...". The Tantrics believed more in the experiential than in the intellectual dimension. Sexual and fierce imageries abound in Tantric worship. Several new deities make their appearance, many borrowed from diverse sources. These deities are conceived of as inhabiting *maṇḍalas* or mystic diagrams and are invoked through *mantras* and *dhāraṇīs* (mystical incantations). This is not the place for me to discuss the relationship between Hindu Tantras and Buddhist Tantras. Suffice to say that there was a very strong connection.

Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand and Kampuchea are today Theravāda Buddhist countries; and Nepal, Tibet, Mongolia, China, Korea and Japan are Mahāyānist countries. Neither Theravāda nor Mahāyāna Buddhism had specifically Buddhist religious ceremonies to provide for *rites de passage*, such as marriage, coronation, etc. Monks could only bless but not act as priests, and hence several non-Buddhist, often pre-Buddhist ritual personnel and, possibly coming in their train, pre-Buddhist deities, were incorporated into Buddhism. For example, one finds Hindu gods accommodated in *devale* adjoining the image house of a sacred Buddhist complex in Sri Lanka, and Hindu Brahmin priests officiate in the coronation of Buddhist kings in Thailand and Kampuchea. Other so-called animists, and their ritual personnel, are also accommodated into the broad framework of practising Buddhism. To cite just one example, the *nat* of Burma from pre-Buddhist animism were officially integrated into the Buddhist fold.

However, the process of incorporation was not always uniform. There are three ways in which Buddhist and non-Buddhist deities were connected: they were completely absorbed; they were alloted a subservient position; and they were treated as hostile forces. For example, Sūrya (cat. no. 69) and Bhairava (cat. no. 57), who is included in this catalogue because of his special interface with the Buddhist deity Mahākāla, would belong to the first category. The second category is represented in this catalogue by no. 12, where the Hindu gods Brahmā and Indra, called by his Buddhist name Śakra, "show their deepest admiration" to the Buddha, as pointed out by Marianne Yaldiz. The third process possibly finds form in no. 57. However, in this example one cannot be certain that the deities being trampled upon are Hindu deities. The Vajrahuṁkāra, a Buddhist Tantric divine form, described in the iconographic text *Sādhanamālā*, would be a better example. He is portrayed in Buddhist iconography as trampling upon the Hindu god Bhairava (Bhattacharyya 1993, p. 144).

Buddhism had come a long way from its early years, a process which Pal pithily calls 'From Meditation to Incantation', though the two were never successive but remained for the greater part concurrent.

A knowledge of Buddhist thought processes is esential if we are even to begin to understand what the icons could mean to a serious practioner. Otherwise, we might find ourselves in the fallacious position of dismissing all icons, in the name of academic objectivity, as magically surcharged images. Not that magic and even black magic were absent in the rites and invocations, but they were merely one layer of a vast multi-layered experience.

END NOTES

1 It was the German scholar Ferdinand von Richtofen who first christened the famous trade route the 'Silk Road' or 'Silk Route' in the last century. However, it seems to have been known by that name even in Byzantine times. It extends to nearly 5,000 miles. Officially the Silk Road is believed to have been in operation from about 110 BCE (Chinese sources) but the route, even if not the entire length, had been in operation for a long time before then. Silk was but one product, albeit an important one, that travelled along this route. There were many other products of great importance: gold, wool, cotton, jade, lapiz lazuli, glass and wood of all kinds, to mention just a few.

2 The Taklamakan desert stretches nearly 1,600 kms east to west and about 500 kms north to south. This was the great divide between the east and west. The word Taklamakan is a Uygur word meaning 'go in and you won't come out'. However, the northern and southern fringes of this vast desert track were dotted with fertile oases which formed important trade posts. From the testimony of travellers it would seem that Central Asia was more inhabitable in the first millenium than it is now. Ellsworth Huntington, the American geographer, attributes this to climatic changes and suggests that the drying up of rivers and lakes caused these civilisations to die.

3 With the decline of the Han dynasty in the early centuries of the Common Era, people of non-Chinese ethnic origins gained a strong foothold in northern China. They were mainly semi-nomadic tribes of Mongol, Altaic and some of Tibetan origin (such as the Toba, who later established the Northern Wei dynasty) but all spoke languages belonging to the Turkic linguistic family. From 4th-7th centuries CE they dominated the north which led to major cultural adjustments. Confucianism was not as strong in this region and the vacuum was soon filled by Buddhism. Buddhism received imperial favour in the north, and not in south China. Thus in the north the monks frequently became military and political advisors of the emperor and the court, thereby establishing a symbiotic relationship between the Buddhist *saṅgha* and the state. This state-*saṅgha* alliance continued well until Tang times. As a woman outside the Confucian classical tradition, one that forbad women from taking political control, the Tang Empress Dowager Wu used one of the *sūtras* to seek justification for her usurpation of power. This Buddhist *sūtra* , namely the *Ta yun ching* (The Great Cloud *Sūtra* or the *Mahāmeghasūtra*) of which two Chinese translations were available, one by Chu Fo-nien and one by Dharmakṣema (Chen 1972, p. 220ff) came in handy. Once Buddhism was established as a state patronised religion, then it was easy for the states of Central Asia to use monks and scholars as cultural emissaries to China and thereby enter the great commonwealth of monarchs. This constituted a form of horizontal legitimisation between brother monarchs.

4 It is believed that in the early 3rd century CE in northern China, over half the population of the Chang'an region were ethnically of non-Chinese origin (Capon 1989, p. 54). In the 4th century the Xiongnu, a Turkish speaking people, captured Luoyang and Chang'an, which led to an exodus of Han Chinese to the south further tilting the balance in favour of the non-Han population in the north. Many of the monks were of Central Asian and Indian origin. Thus, a truly cosmopolitan culture grew in the north.

5 The term Wisdom *Sūtras* is a general term and refers to several texts and versions. The *Aṣtasahasrika* or the Perfection of Wisdom in 8,000 lines was most probably composed in the 1st century BCE. Many enlargements of this, consisting of 100,000 lines or 18,000 lines etc., were prevalent but the best known is the *Prajñaparamitasūtra* in 2,500 lines. Shorter versions like the *Vajrachhedikā* were popular not only in Central Asia and China but also in South East Asia. The Wisdom *Sūtra* acquired such a reputation for containing the essence of the doctrine that one Tibetan version reduced it to its most cryptic 'seed syllable' form, the syllable 'A'. The principal teaching of this *sūtra* dealt with *'śūnyatā'* (commonly translated as 'the void' which does not, however, reveal the complexities of its meaning).

6 Boulton, N. E. "Early Chinese Buddhist Travel Records as a Literary Genre", 1982. (PhD thesis, Georgetown University, 1982).

7 There is a tradition in China and Japan that there is a record in Canton in which a dot was placed every year after the passing away of the Buddha. By counting the number of dots, two dates, 486 BCE and 483 BCE, have been worked out depending on the way the dots are counted.

8 For Pilgrimage as Image see Huntington and Huntington 1985: pp 46-61; 1986a: pp 28-43; 1986b: pp 32-46; 1986c: pp 28-40; 1986d: pp 46-58; and also 1987a: pp 55-63; and 1987b: pp 56-68. The Eight Miracles, and hence pilgrim sites associated with them, are the Birth, Temptation, First Sermon, Death, Taming of Nalagiri, Miracle of Śrāvastī, Descent from the Tavatimsa heaven, and the offering of honey by a monkey. See also J. Williams (1975: pp 171-92) on narrative stelae.

9 Karetzky, P. E. 1995: pp 127-48.

10 Bhattacharya G. 1990: pp.31-34. See cat. no. 29 which resembles Fig. 2 illustrated in this article and see also Brown R. L. 1984: pp 79-95.

11 Huntington S. L. 1990: pp 401-408. Dehejia V. 1991: pp. 45-66. Huntington S. L. 1992: pp 111-157

心心相印佛法傳

Rajeshwari Ghose 高禮智

佛教藝術源遠流長，對不同文化影響深遠。這個展覽展示的公元一世紀至十三世紀初的佛教文物，反映了各地文化交流的成果。

佛教通過海陸兩條絲綢之路的商旅和侵略者自印度橫貫中亞傳入中國，促成歐亞大陸的文化互相交流，而巧手工匠塑造的佛教造像，更成為深入人心的藝術。

中印兩大古代文明的交流可溯源自佛教僧人的往來，中原的洛陽是中印學者翻譯佛教經典的中心。到了四世紀中葉，洛陽的譯經家已把1153本經書從梵文翻譯成漢語，把中亞和印度的佛法在中國廣泛弘揚。

晉代法顯是第一位抵達印度的中國僧人，他在天竺多國學習戒律梵語，十五年後才返回中土。由公元400至700年，數以百計的中國僧人經海陸兩路往天竺求法。玄奘和義淨是唐代到訪印度的高僧，對佛經翻譯貢獻良多。此外他們尚有遊記流傳，特別是玄奘所撰的《西域記》，對印度和中亞的歷史地理和風俗習慣的研究提供了重要資料。

佛教造像最早出現的時代雖然至今尚未有定論，但佛陀的形像卻有統一的儀軌，圖版24的佛陀造像代表了古印度烏長國（今印度河上游及斯瓦特地區）的典型佛陀形相，曾廣泛應用於中亞（古于闐地區）、中國、日本和西藏的佛陀造像。

佛陀梵文意思為“覺者”，即悟得真理的典型人物。由佛陀的形相導衍出今世以及過去、未來諸多佛相。其中描寫釋迦生平的造像，可分本生和佛傳故事，是佛教藝術中最早出現的內容。本生故事是有關釋迦前世積習功德果報的傳說，有所謂“五百本生”，表現古印度的信仰和修行世界；而佛傳故事則是釋迦由誕生至涅槃期間所發生的各種情節和場面，故事內容主要根據《佛本行集經》和《方廣大莊嚴經》的記述。

建於公元前一至二世紀的巴盧特佛塔，是最早的佛教建築，現雖不存，但從保留於各大博物館的遺物可見塔上刻有佛傳和本生故事，其中本生故事比佛傳故事多；現存的桑奇佛塔和阿瑪拉瓦提塔上所刻裝飾則以佛傳故事居多。佛傳故事廣泛見於犍陀羅地區的佛教藝術品，到了公元四至七世紀的笈多王朝更濃縮成八個在佛陀聖跡地發生的故事，包括藍毗尼、佛陀伽耶(圖版25和26)、鹿野苑、拘尸那揭羅、毘舍離、舍衛國、僧伽施和王舍國，並於八至十二世紀的帕拉王朝統一表達方式（圖版24），後來便漸漸式微，被佛教造像所取代。

佛教原不是偶像崇拜的宗教。早期佛教藝術品尚未有佛陀形像的出現，僅以足印、寶座、菩提樹等象徵物替代（圖版2和3）；另一方面，佛教藝術也多利用象徵去敘述故事，如菩提樹既可代表佛教聖跡，又能鼓勵世俗崇拜，並令人聯想到佛陀悟道。

傳說佛陀涅槃後，大迦葉成為佛教第一次結集的召集人，編集了最早的佛經。其後孔雀王朝的阿育王在華氏城選僧徒千人，舉行佛教結集，並於會後派僧侶多人各攜訂正的經典四出傳教，北傳佛教由犍陀羅至中亞(尼泊爾等地)以至中國西北，直達韓國和日本，為大乘佛教；傳至東南者遍及錫蘭（斯里蘭卡）、緬甸、暹羅（泰國）和柬埔寨等地，稱小乘佛教。

隨著大乘佛教的發展，公元六世紀時密宗興起，佛教藝術有賴大乘佛教的“和世樂群”而得以發揚光大。僧人“設像行道”，工匠則憑著各自對神佛的不同理解而塑造出繁多的佛教造像，促成阿旃陀、巴米安、克孜爾、柏孜克里克和敦煌等地出現的絢麗壁畫和偉大佛教藝術。

Icons and Imagery: A Journey of Style

Rajeshwari Ghose

I. When does an Image become an Icon?

An image is a mere inanimate object until it is given a meaning by the worshipper; until it becomes sacred. The process of transforming an image into an icon varies in different faiths, but it is invariably by means of a ritual that an image is formally consecrated. Schroeder (1990, p. 38) describes a consecration rite in Sri Lanka popularly called *nētra piṅkama*, which he translates as 'eye merit action'. This ceremony is more formally known as *nētra pratiṣṭhāna utsavya*, loosely translated by Schroeder as meritorious action of fixing the eyes. Buddhist tradition, as recorded in the Sri Lankan chronicles the *Mahāvaṁśa* and *Cūlavaṁśa*, traces this custom back to the reign of the Indian emperor Aśoka (r. *circa* 268-233 BCE). Aśoka occupies a place in Buddhist tradition similar to that of the Emperor Constantine in Christian tradition, as the first great royal patron of the faith. The Indian emperor has been made into a legendary figure in Buddhist literature, with an *avadāna*, dedicated to him (the *Aśokāvadāna*).[1]

Numerous Buddhist texts testify to the sacerdotal character of the 'eye-opening ceremony'. This involves either painting, embossing or setting the eyes (often made of precious jewels) in the hollow sockets. During this ceremony a relic is also placed inside the image. Based on the written account albeit a late one of an eye-witness, Krairiksh (1978, pp 220-224) provides a step by step account of the placement of a relic inside a Buddha image in a Thai consecration ceremony. He interprets *inter alia* the purpose of the ritual by pointing out how the icon makers strove to imbue the image with "the Buddha Essence". In Hinduism such a ceremony is called *prāṇapratiṣṭā* , a term which literally means 'establishing or infusing life-breath'.

The ancient Javanese custom of placing the *pripiḥ* or 'sacral deposit' is described by Soekmono (Soekmono 1971, p. 16). The *pripiḥ* consisted of plants, metals and other substances symbolising the earthly elements, and was buried in a hole in the earth, over which was erected the central icon. In a corresponding hollow specially created above this on the ceiling of the shrine was placed another set of *pripiḥ*, symbolising the heavens. It was believed that during the ritual "the god imbues the statue with his spirit, while the earthly elements serve symbolically to provide the statue with a temporary body. Complete with body and soul the statue is no longer an inanimate object" (*ibid.*). Once the consecration ceremony was over, stone slabs were used to seal both cavities, since the *pripiḥ* was not subsequently meant to be seen by the worshippers. Soekmono's description would have applied equally to Hindu and Buddhist deities worshipped in ancient Indonesia. In his article in this catalogue, Brinker has also referred to the importance of the 'eye-opening' rite *kaiyan* in Chinese Buddhism.

Most Buddhists, especially those from Theravāda countries, insist that they are not image worshippers. Krairiksh also states categorically that, "Unlike images of Brahmanical deities, which are worshipped as the living presence of the gods they represent, the images of the Buddha are intended as reminders of the Great Teacher and his doctrine". He adds, "they are not to be worshipped *per se* but held in deep respect" (Krairiksh *op. cit*, p. 16). The intellectual/spiritual and the affective dimensions of the Buddhist faith are, however, hard to separate and at the affective level the reverence borders on worship.

When one comes to the more complex imagery of Tantric Buddhism, it is not reverence of the image as a symbol of 'The Teacher' that is suggested in the iconographic texts. The term 'symbol' is problematic, and I am using it here in the Augustinian sense of the process of representing something other than itself to the knowing faculty and of apprehending the intelligible through the sensible.

In the Tantras the worshipper is the deity. The rites of visualisation and homologisation are performed in order to set in motion this process of identity formation. Thus, the Tantras direct the spiritual aspirant to meditate (*dhyāyat*) on himself (*ātmānām*) as the deity, be it male (*Bhagavantaṃ*) or female (*Bhagavatīṃ*). Bhattacharyya describes the whole ritual process, by which this interiorisation of the deity and the homologisation is accomplished (Bhatacharyya 1991, pp 169-75). After physically, ethically and morally cleansing himself the practioner should, we are told: "conceive the entire universe ...", and is asked to establish "the void with the *mantra* ..." (*ibid.*, p. 178). Thus, the practioner is initially trained to offer obeisance to the deity, who is described in detailed iconographic terminology in the texts. He or she is then directed to mentally visualise the deity. Subsequently, however, the practioner is expected to destroy the mental configuration at the moment of Truth, when the realization occurs that it is all a figment of the imagination, and the immeasurable *śūnya* or void engulfs the aspirant.

While it is easy to pinpoint the rites and rituals that transform an image into an icon, it is much harder in religions with a strong mystical element to know exactly the function of an image. In fact, if one bases one's judgment solely on textual references, the visual arts do not seem to be essential for the functioning of the Buddhist religion. Nevertheless, visual arts are part and parcel of ritual and satisfy a deep sensory need. Kukai (the 8th century Japanese monk of the Tantric Shingon school) explains the ontological function of an icon thus: "The esoteric doctrines are so profound, as to defy their enunciation in writing. With the help of painting, however, their obscurities may be understood" (Rambach 1979, p. 42). Thus icons seem to be multi-vocal and multi-valent.

II. Codes, Conventions and Semantics of Buddhist Art

The purpose of this section is not to accomplish the impossible task of commenting on all the different iconic types in Buddhist art, but simply to highlight a few interesting aspects of an evolving language, where new meanings were added on to old symbol vehicles.

II. 1 The Founder

Although the historical Buddha and all Buddha typologies, including the five *jīna*, were represented anthropomorphically, they were not depicted as normal human beings. This was because the artists wanted to portray the supranatural wisdom, spiritual strength and infinite compassion of the Buddhas, and hence the Buddha was marked by thirty two major and eighty minor marks. The artists naturally had the aesthetic sense not to portray one hundred and twelve marks in every image of the Buddha, but few marks of the Great Being (*mahāpuruṣa*) were often repeated, until they became standardised at an early date in the development of Buddhist art.

The Lakkhaṇa Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya enumerates the thirty two *lakṣaṇās* or identifying marks of a Cakkavatin (universal monarch) or a Buddha (*Dīghanikāya* iii, 1, 142ff). These marks include: feet with level tread, designs of wheels on the soles of his feet, projecting heels, long fingers and toes, soft, tender hands and feet, ankles round and smooth like shells, the male organ concealed in a sheath, of golden complexion with skin so smooth that no dust can cling to it, a divinely straight frame, the front of his body like a lion, with arms so long that when the Buddha stands he can touch his knees without bending, forty regular teeth, a hairy mole between his eyebrows (the *ūrṇā*) "and head like a royal turban" (*uṣnīṣa*).[2] The meaning of this last Sanskrit term is controversial; it meant a turban, and the Buddha, as a prince, would have worn a royal turban. As a *yogi*, the Buddha's spiritual effulgence, according to believers, would have shone through the centre of his cranium, the *locus sanctus* of *tejas* (luminosity) in Yogic mystical parlance. There are Buddha images from Gandhāra with a hole in the centre of the cranium, on

which were placed precious stones to symbolise brilliance (Taddei and Klimburg-Salter 1991, pp 79-93 and Taddei's article in this catalogue, p. 55). The sculptors of Sri Lanka and Thailand depicted this in a more graphic manner by introducing the *ketumālā*, the flaming finial over the *uṣnīṣa*.

The idea of the *uṣnīṣa* itself was translated and standardised into the snail like curls with a cranial bump one sees on later Buddha heads (Fig. 1). That such a portrayal was not in keeping with the narrative tradition becomes obvious when we remember that, according to the biography of the Buddha, he was said to have cut off his princely locks to become a shaven monk. In fact, many narrative panels all over the Buddhist world portray this scene as emblematic of his renouncing the world (Krishan 1996, pp 111-131), since it was foretold at his birth that he was destined to become either a World Conqueror or a World Renouncer and the cutting off of his hair symbolised the moment of truth in his life. Kramrisch (1935 p. 148; also 1936, pp 79-83) believes that several of these signs were cosmogonical and that the *uṣnīṣa* represents his ever extending presence and hence his identification with the *axis mundi*. Iconically this was represented by colossal images of the Buddha or by the 27 ft. Buddha *attharasa*.

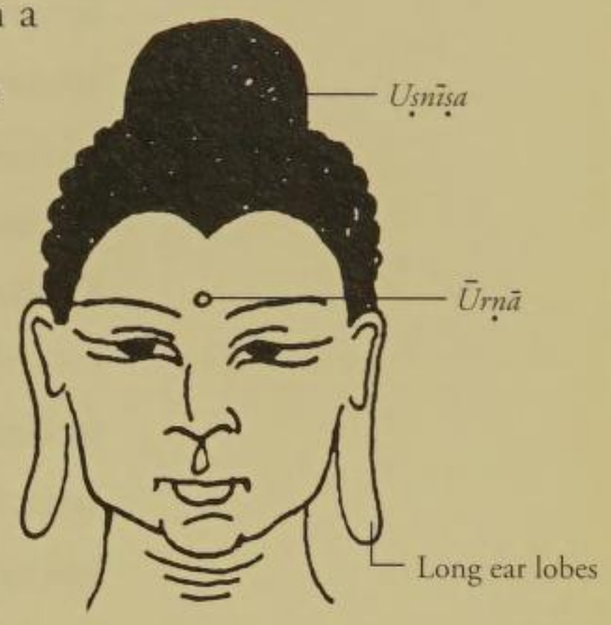


Fig. 1

Since this catalogue is devoted exclusively to Buddhist art, the emphasis may somewhat slant the facts in the mind of the general reader. One should remember that strictly speaking, there was no Buddhist period in Indian history, although Buddhism constituted an important segment of the composite religious culture of India. The Buddhist faith also received royal patronage from monarchs who were not necessarily Buddhists themselves. The *Ikṣhvākus*, who patronised the art of Amarāvati (see cat. no. 2 and Map I), were Hindus. The reverse situation also held true and monarchs of the Buddhist faith such as the Pālas also patronised Hindu art. The craftspeople employed to execute religious ideas served Hindu, Buddhist and also Jain clientele at the same time. Thus there developed a shared vocabulary of iconography and style that was pan-Indian and was used as a code book across the three faiths.

However, there were hand gestures or *mudrās* specific to Buddhism that were related to special events in the life of the historical Buddha. Some of the Buddhist iconographic conventions later appeared in the representation of Hindu gods. With the development of Tantric Buddhism a whole new visual vocabulary was introduced, part of which was common to Hindu and Buddhist Tantric art, and part of which remained solely a Buddhist prerogative.

The most common terms used in Buddhist art are *āsana* and *mudrā*, which occur in combination with various prefixes. The term *āsana* signifies sitting positions as well as the actual seats, such as a throne, a stool etc. The earliest seated Buddha images usually portray the figure in the posture of a *yogi* sitting in meditation. One such posture, in which the legs are crossed with feet resting on the corresponding thighs, the legs so tightly interlocked as to appear as if they formed a horizontal line, is referred to in iconographic texts as *padmāsana*, meaning 'lotus posture' or *vajrāsana*, meaning 'diamond posture' (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2
Padmāsana
Bhūmiśparsamuudrā
Vajrāsana or *padmāsana*

The platform or slab on which the Buddha sat in meditation under the bodhi tree at the site called Bodh Gaya (see Map I) is also called the *vajrāsana*. With the growth of the pilgrimage tradition, the site of Buddha's Enlightenment became holy. The inherent belief underlying the importance of pilgrim sites is that holy acts when performed at certain sites acquire special sanctity. The importance of the precise spot is further embellished in pilgrim literature until, as in this example, the *vajrāsana* or specific seat under the specific tree in the specific spot is designated as the only place in which Śākyamuni could have become a Buddha. Xuanzang refers to the legend of a *deva* directing Śākyamuni as he is about to sit in meditation as follows: "From here south west is a *pipal* tree, under which is a 'diamond throne'. All the past Buddhas seated on this throne have obtained true Enlightenment and so will those yet to

come. Pray then, proceed to that spot" (Beal 1884, vol. 2, p. 114). Thus, the term *vajrāsana* acquired a special Buddhist significance, although the term *padmāsana* or lotus position remained in use as a general term for any figure seated in this manner. It is not clear, however, when precisely the seat in Bodh Gaya became designated the *vajrāsana*. Faxian refers to the place of Enlightenment but does not call it *vajrāsana* (Beal 1906, I, lxi-lxiii), and an inscription from Bodh Gaya refers to the Great *Vajrāsana* temple which has been dated to the 4th century CE, i.e., the period of Gupta rule. Although in earlier works we find the use of such terms as *simhāsana* (lion throne), they do not refer to the *vajrāsana* in the context of this episode in Bodh Gaya.

Thus we see that the Buddha while meditating prior to his Enlightenment was seated on a *vajrāsana* in Bodh Gaya in a *vajrāsana* (seated posture). The question that arises in this context is "In what position were his hands held"? The normal pose would have been the *dhyānamudrā* or the meditation *mudrā* (see below) or the ubiquitous *abhayamudrā*, the *mudrā* of protection (see Fig. 3). The Bodh Gaya episode in the Life of the Buddha is connected with his defeat of Māra (*Māravijaya*). Aśvaghoṣa (*circa* 1st century CE) in his *Buddhacarita* (XIII, 2) equates Māra with Kāma, the Hindu God of Love and hence this episode is connected with Buddha's deliverance from both fear and sensual temptations. Māra is often equated with Satan or the Devil, although his personality is a great deal more complex than that of the Biblical Devil (Boyd 1975). For one thing, Māra is always portrayed as a handsome young man, even though he is credited with a multitude of sons (often called Māra's army), and bewitchingly beautiful daughters. Several later texts highly embellish the temptation scene. Some Buddhist texts, such as *Mahāvastu* (II. 342, cited by Khosla 1989, p. 84), state that when Mara hurled his discus at the Buddha (here still referred to as Bodhisattva), Buddha drew his right hand from under his robe and extending it to the earth, addressed the earth goddess thus: "Art thou not witness of the seven hundred fold gift I gave in my birth as Vessantara?"[3] The Great Earth answered "Yes, I am".

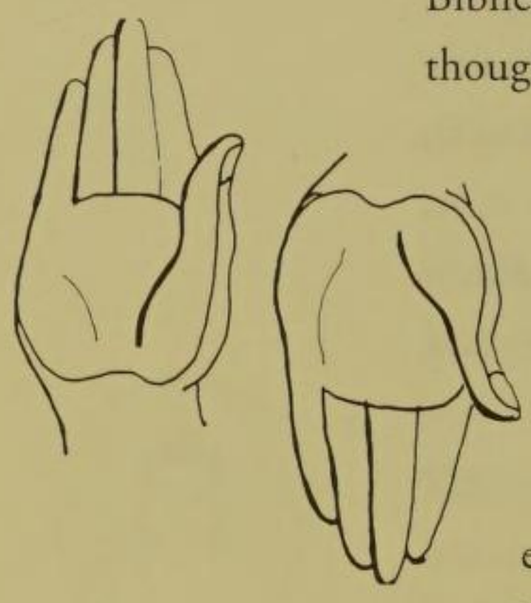


Fig. 3 Combination of *Abhaya* and *Varamudrā*

This gesture of extending the right hand while the left hand lay on the Buddha's lap in the erstwhile position of meditation, is called the *bhūmisparśamudrā*. In this *mudrā* all the fingers of the right hand are extended and the finger tips touch the ground near the right knee (Fig. 2). This pose is referred to in the *Lalitavistārā*, and although Aśvaghoṣa mentions the hurling of weapons and the terrifying army of Māra, he does not refer to this particular *mudrā*. There are variations of this *mudrā*, but all variants represent Śākyamuni's Enlightenment. Sharma believes that the Mathuran artists invariably portrayed the Buddha in *abhayamudrā* in the early phase and that the other *mudrās*, such as *vyakhyana*, *dharmacakrapravartana*, *bhūmiśparsa*, and *dhyāna* were introduced in the Mathura school as a result of influences from the Gandhāra region (Sharma 1984, p. 187). The *bhūmisparśamudrā* was popularly represented in art from the Gupta period and was standardised in the Gupta Sarnath school by the early 5th century CE. It was not known in Amarāvati sculptures of the 2nd-3rd centuries CE nor in those of Gandhāra from an earlier period. In one Gandhāran narrative relief the earth goddess is anthropomorphically present at the Māravijaya but the *bhūmiśparsa* is absent; the *abhaya* is used instead (Ingholt 1971, no. 62). The Gandhāra *bhūmiśparsa* Buddhas may thus have to be dated to a period roughly around the 5th century. Ingholt (1971, no. 63) illustrates a Buddha in this *mudrā* and assigns it to Group III or Group IV, both of which he dates to either early or mid 5th century. Tissot has an image from Gandhāra in this *mudrā* (Tissot 1986, Fig. 191). Although Zwalf (1996, p. 40) points out that the *bhūmisparśamudrā* occurs only in narrative reliefs showing the defeat of Māra (1996, pls 185 and 186), there is one unique figure (Zwalf *op. cit.*, pl. 199; colour pl. IX) in which it occurs in what Zwalf refers to as the "exceptional" context of the First Sermon (Zwalf *op. cit*, pl. 199; colour pl. IX). In this example a deer and a wheel are depicted on the base of the Buddha's seat, and there are also the five ascetics, who were the first to hear his sermon.

The *bhūmisparśamudrā* seldom occurs in Sri Lanka but Schroeder cites a rare example from Anurādhapura that he dates to *circa* the 6th century, which comes most appropriately from the Śri Mahābodhi shrine, commemorating the *Māravijaya* in Bodh Gaya (Schroeder *op. cit.*, p. 22, Fig.1, also pl. 25G). This hand gesture was, however, extremely popular in Pāla (8th-12th centuries) and several South East Asian schools of art. According to Leoshko, "The emphasis on the Buddha in *bhūmisparśamudrā* – and thus Bodh Gaya – by its larger size and central placement only developed in the Pāla period. The format has a *maṇḍala*-like appearance which accords with viewing the Buddha's life as a paradigm to the path of Enlightenment" (Leoshko 1988, p. 40). Several of the images in this catalogue, no. 26 (Pāla), 27 (Pāla, presumably from Bodh Gaya), 49 (Sukhothai, Thailand), 50 (U-Thong, fragmentary condition) and 106 (China, Sui dynasty) show Buddhas in *bhūmisparśamudrā*. Around the 9th century a variation of this scene occurs in which a *vajra* is portrayed on the lotus seat. In her study of Pāla sculpture Bautze-Picron points out how on some pedestals of Buddha images the monk, who is shaven with a long robe and an incense burner, is replaced in the later phase by one with a peaked cap and a Tibetan *vajra* and *ghaṇṭa*. (Bautze-Picron 1995, in *passim*, pp 60-68). This is an indication of the influence of the Mahāyāna-Tantric beliefs of visiting Tibetan pilgrims.

Bodh Gaya was particularly important as a pilgrimage site for Burmese Buddhists, who have left several inscriptions in this place from the 11th century onwards, and in fact the present shape of the temple possibly owes much to Burmese design. As Stadtner states "Until a reliable chronology can be established, sculpture and bronzes resembling Pāla work should be dated broadly to the 11th and 12th centuries" (Stadtner *vide infra* p. 76), at which time several stylistic similarities can be observed between the art of Bengal and Bihar and the art of Myanmar; this may at least be one reason for the enormous popularity of the *bhūmisparśamudrā* in Burmese Buddha images. A number of bronzes dated to the 8th-9th centuries from Java depict the seated Buddha in *bhūmiśparsa* and seem to have been based on Pāla models from ateliers in the regions of modern day Bangladesh. Scheurleer and Klokke (1988, pp 27-30) place Pāla-influenced Central Javanese images in Group 2 of their classificatory system.

In Mahāyāna Buddhism *bhūmiśparsa* is also the *mudrā* of the Buddha Aksobhya ("The Imperturbable"), the second of the group of five *jina*. He occurs in Borobudur in the galleries facing east, since this *jīna* is the protector of the eastern quarter and lord of the Eastern Paradise. The Aksobhya cult seems to have been known in China from the later Han period onwards, and he occurs in several of the well-known Mahāyāna *sūtras*, for example, the Wisdom and Lotus *sūtras*.

The other specifically Buddhist *mudrā* is the *dharmacakrapravartanamudrā*. There is no doubt that this *mudrā* represents the Buddha in a teaching gesture, but whether or not this gesture specifically represented the First Sermon remains controversial. As Karetzky points out, in spite of the importance of the First Sermon in Buddhist *dharma*, the narrative related to the incident in Buddhist canonical texts is fraught with "inconsistencies and contradictions" (Karetzky 1995, pp 127-147). Briefly, her arguments can be summarised as follows: the difficulty of locating the exact site where the First Sermon took place, and the late appearance of the narrative of the First Sermon in the *sūtras*. Karetzky traces its earliest occurrence to the Mahāvagga and a 5th century Chinese translation of a Pāli work. It is in the Mahāvagga that the expression the "wheel has been turned" occurs for the first time. Herein we are also told that a man named Kodanna, because of his superior wisdom, became the first monk, thereby inaugurating the Buddhist *saṅgha*, the third jewel in the three jewels (*triratna*) of Buddhism; the Buddha, the *dhamma* and the *saṅgha*. The Mahāvagga reports: "Thus the Buddha turned the wheel three times, Preaching the Four Truths, the Twelve Practices".

In artistic representations of the First Sermon, the wheel by itself symbolises the teaching of the Buddha, but again it is uncertain whether or not this specifically represents The First Sermon. There is a

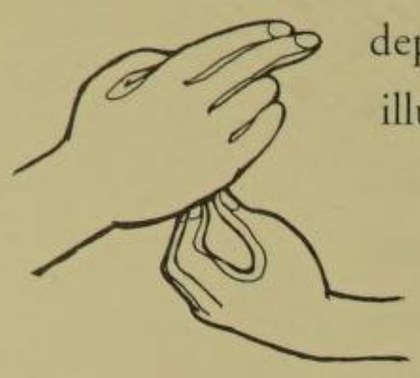


Fig. 4a
Dharmacakrapravartanamudrā
– Gandhāran

depiction of a wheel in Bharhut bearing the label "the wheel of *dhamma*", and at Sanchi there is an illustration of two deer gazing at a wheel. Since the First Sermon is believed to have been delivered in the deer park at Sarnath, the two deer in conjunction with the wheel are taken to aniconically represent the First Sermon. There are numerous scenes in Gandhāran art depicting the First Sermon but the Buddha is invariably shown in the *abhayamudrā* (cat. no. 8). It is the wheel and the two deer appearing at the base of the image that mark such representations as the sermon delivered in the deer park.

There is yet another mode of representing the theme of the 'turning of the wheel of law' in Gandhāran art, by showing the Buddha literally turning a wheel placed before him. The unusual example of Buddha delivering the First Sermon in *bhūmisparśamudrā* has been discussed earlier. In pre-Gupta Mathura, the pedestal of Buddha statues often portrayed monks worshipping a wheel, indicative of the teaching of *dhamma*. There are Gandhāran examples of the Buddha in *dharmacakrapravartanamudrā*. The Gandhāran mode of depicting this *mudrā* is, however, different from that of Sarnath, which is again different from the depictions at Ajanta; the *mudrā* depicted in Javanese art is also different from that employed in Central Asia, which again differs from the Tibetan (for variants of this gesture see Figs. 4 a, b, c, d, e). In fact, Zwalf often refrains from using the term *dharmacakrapravartana* in relation to Gandhāran art, preferring to use simply the term "preaching" gesture.

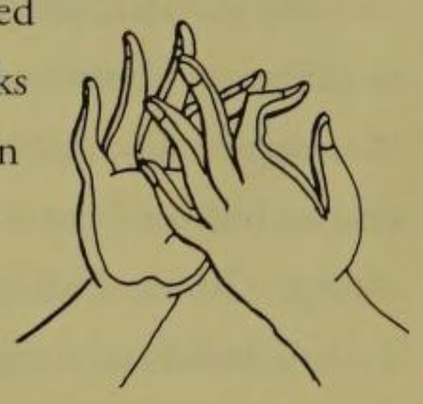


Fig. 4b
Dharmacakrapravartanamudrā
– Sanarth

Examples of the *dharmacakrapravartanamudrā* appear in the late mature phase of Gandhāran art, but as Zwalf points out (Zwalf *op. cit.*, p. 70), "their distribution in time and space is hard to determine". The Gandhāran variant of the *dharmacakramudrā* does not appear in earlier images of other schools and hence Lohuizen-de-Leeuw (1972, p . 43) concluded that this *mudrā* was invented in Gandhāra. Zwalf refers to a Buddha at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and a Bodhisattva at a Gandhāran site, both in this *mudrā* and belonging to *circa* 3rd century CE (Zwalf *op. cit.* p. 74, fn 68).

Many authors believe that Buddhas in this *mudrā* date to a period after the Sasanian conquest, i.e., post-3rd century. One of the five dated Buddha images from Gandhāra, commonly called the Brussels Buddha since the figure is currently in a Brussels collection (Czuma 1985, p. 198, pl. 109), shows Buddha in this teaching pose. Czuma dates this image to the 2nd century, and takes the inscribed date of the year five to refer to the second Kaṇiṣka era. Most of the Gandhāran Buddhas in the *dharmacakrapravartanamudrā* have their right shoulder bare. The point to remember about Gandhāra Buddhas in this *mudrā* is that they do not appear to represent the First Sermon.

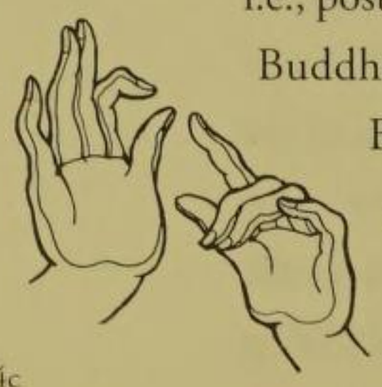


Fig. 4c
Dharmacakrapravartanamudrā
– Ajanta

There are examples of Buddha seated in the so-called European fashion (*pralaṁbapádāsana*, Fig. 6) and shown in this hand gesture (cat. no. 37). This sitting pose in conjunction with this particular *mudrā* was popularly depicted in Ajanta and also well known in Java. Atīśá, the scholar missionary, is represented in this *mudrā* (cat. no. 61) and teachers regarded as aspects of the deities were also thus represented in Tibetan art.

The *dharmacakrapravartanamudrā* finally appears in Indian art in its most pleasing variant at Sarnath during the Gupta period, around the 5th century (Fig. 5). In China this *mudrā* is known as *zhuanfalun yin* and is believed to have been introduced by Xuanzang and Wang Xuanche during the early Tang period (Sirén 1925, p. 134). A Japanese example appears in the Hōryūji Amida. The Buddha/ Bodhisattva Maitreya, the *jīna* Vairocana and Prajñapāramita are portrayed in the *dharmacakra pravartanamudrā*. The best known example of Prajñapāramita in this

Fig. 4d
Dharmacakrapravartanamudrā
– Java

mudrā comes from Eastern Java and is now in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (cover plate, Fontein, 1990). However, the *dharmacakramudrā* does not occur in Sri Lanka even in the late Anurādhapura period (Schroeder *op. cit.* p. 116). Catalogue numbers 14 (Gandhāra), 29 (Pāla), and 37 (Central Java) provide other examples of Buddhas in *dharmacakrapravartanamudrā* illustrated in this catalogue.

Fig. 4e
Dharmacakrapravartanamudrā
– Tibetan

To conclude: this *mudrā* represents teaching and was later associated with the First Sermon. The latter is indicated by the addition of the deer, which locates the event in a specific space (in the deer park in Sarnath). The "turning of the wheel" appears as a specific *mudrā* in combination with the other elements, namely the wheel and deer. The narrative is finally subordinated to the iconic at Sarnath, where the Buddha sitting in this *mudrā* dominates the scene.

The other *mudrās* commonly used in Buddhism, *abhayamudrā*, *vara* or *varadamudrā*, and *dhyānamudrā*, representing protection, boon granting and meditation respectively (see Fig. 3) were the common property of Indic art, and had no specifically Buddhist connotations. The *abhaya* or *mudrā* of protection was the most commonly depicted hand gesture in early Buddhist art prior to the 5th century. Almost all the standing Buddhas in Gandhāra were represented in this *mudrā*.

In South East Asia, particularly in Myanmar, Kampuchea and Thailand, standing Buddhas are often shown with both hands in *abhayamudrā*. This, to the best of my knowledge, is a specifically South East Asian innovation and does not occur elsewhere. Seated Buddhas are often shown in *dhyanamudrā*, but this *mudrā* does not occur in the standing Buddhas for aesthetic reasons, and, in addition, yogic convention decrees that one should meditate in a seated position.

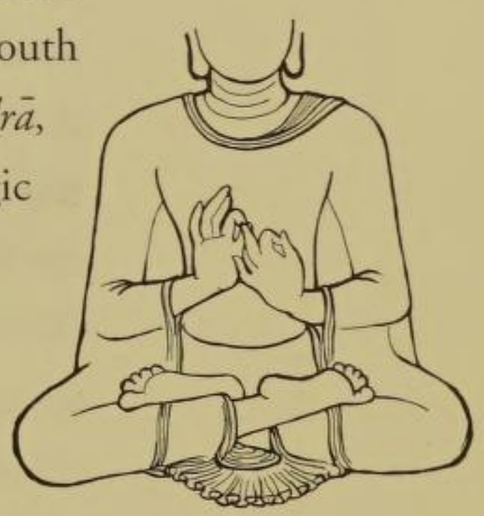


Fig. 5 Gupta-Sarnath (5th century CE)

II. 2 The Bodhisattvas

This is not the place for me to discuss the iconography of the various Bodhisattvas, which would require tomes to do justice to the subject. Suffice to say that the Bodhisattva typology is distinguishable from the Buddha typology in that the former are depicted wearing garments and ornaments associated with the aristocracy rather than the robe of a monastic. Bodhisattvas wear earrings, bangles, garlands, necklaces and other forms of decoration, and when portrayed without their special attributes (as was customary in early Buddhist art) they are indistinguishable from the donors. In later iconography identification becomes easier because of the frequent depiction of their special attributes, for example, Amitābha on the crown of Avalokiteśvara, and the *stūpa* on the coiffure of Maitreya. Another point to note is the use of the term Bodhisattva. In several texts the historical Buddha before his Enlightenment is referred to as the Bodhisattva. The meaning of this word thus has to be read in context.

In this section I will focus on only two features: the cross-ankled sitting position (for a variant of the same, see below) adopted by the Bodhisattvas, and the gesture of pensiveness, which has led to the classification of these images as "Pensive" or "Contemplative Bodhisattvas".

Fig. 6 *Pralambapādāsana*

In Indian art Bodhisattvas appear seated in yogic postures known as *padmāsana* or *vajrāsana* (see above, Fig. 5), *paryaṅkāsana*, (also called *sattvaparyaṅkāsana*) and in the so-called European pose (*pralambapadāsana*, Fig. 6). The interesting posture known as "the cross-ankled" position was possibly introduced into Indian art by the Iranians and occurs frequently in Gandhāran art. Surya or the Sun god (cat. no 69) is portrayed seated in this cross-ankled position. This image comes from Kizil on the northern Silk Road, where Iranian influence was strong.

In addition to the cross-ankled position, the "pensive" or contemplative Bodhisattvas are also portrayed in a sitting posture in which the right leg crosses the pendent left leg (Fig. 7). In this exhibition there are two examples of the above type, both from China. Of the two images illustrated in this catalogue (cat. nos 96 and 97), no. 97 is dated to a year corresponding to 572 CE and the other example also

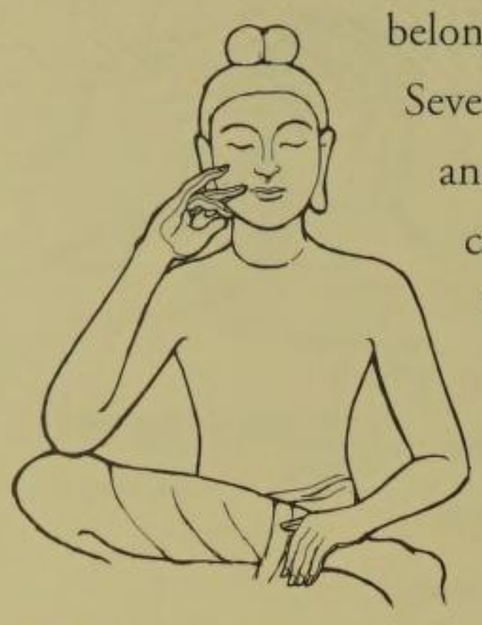


Fig. 7 Pensive *mudrā*

belongs to the Northern Qi period, a time when such images were extremely popular in northern China. Several sitting postures were introduced in Chinese images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas during the 5th and 6th centuries. Some of these remained popular with image makers for a long time, while others captured their attention only for a short period. The so-called "European pose" (*pralambapādāsana*) "survived into the Tang and post Tang periods, chiefly for Buddhas" (Lee 1993, p. 317 and fn 39). In pensive Bodhisattvas, the seated position with one leg crossed over the other became very important in 6th century China, and from China the imagery travelled to Korea and Japan. However, by the mid Tang period, this manner of representing the Bodhisattva waned in popularity in China (*ibid.*). An Indian prototype is known to have inspired the Chinese, Korean and Japanese Bodhisattvas and I shall pause and examine this protoype or, rather, possible prototypes. There is an exquisite Bodhisattva made of mottled sandstone and seated in the above mentioned contemplative/pensive pose from Mathura and now in the Kronos Collection. Lerner dates it to the 2nd century CE (Lerner 1984, p. 30, pl. 7). It shows the Bodhisattva with his right elbow resting vertically on his right knee, the two extended fingers of his right hand touching his right cheek.

It was long held that the pose we call 'pensive' definitely originated in the Gandhāra region. The Kronos Bodhisattva, to quote Lerner, "slightly complicates the accepted hypothesis" (Lerner *op. cit.*, p. 32). Until the appearance of the Kronos Bodhisattva, such pensive Bodhisattvas were not known from any Indian art school other than that of Gandhāra. The earliest Gandhāran examples have been dated to the 3rd century CE but if this Kronos example can be dated to the 2nd century, then it is presumed that the Mathura example is older than the earliest known Gandhāran examples. Gandhāran influences in the form of the sandals worn by this Mathura Bodhisattva are clearly evident in the Kronos image. Hence, there could have been earlier Gandhāran prototypes which are now lost to us. This image does not represent either Śākyamuni before his Enlightenment or Maitreya, but is definitely a representation of Avalokiteśvara as can be seen from the seated Amitābha in his coiffure.

There is no doubt that such figures are the products of the Kuśāṇa age (1st-3rd century CE) in Indian art. The pose of the thinker, pose also often assumed by a mourner, has been traced to Classical Graeco-Roman art. In Indic art such a pose is adopted by the historical Buddha before his Enlightenment, by those listening intently to Buddhist sermons, especially in scenes of paradise, and by flanking figures, particularly those to either side of a cross-ankled Bodhisattva (Lee *op. cit.*, p. 312). From Gandhāra proper (examples have come from many places such as Loriyan-Tangai, Takht-i-Bahi and Shotorak), the motif seems to have travelled further north and east. In Kizil the one leg crossed pose seems to have been favoured and Lee cites an iconic and non-narrative example of two large symmetrical pensive figures from the Cave of the Ring Bearing Doves in Kizil (Cave 123, now in MIK). In the Kizil murals are also depicted a number of both seated and standing cross-ankled figures. An interesting child-like figure, cross-ankled and playing a flute, is now in the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg (Gies 1996, pl. 94). Lee follows the German chronology and places the cave of the Ring Bearing Doves and the paintings therein to the 5th to 7th centuries. This chronological scheme has since been challenged by Chinese archaeologists, and I refer the reader to the erudite article by Ma in this catalogue on the controversies regarding the dating of the Kizil caves. From Kizil this iconic type travelled to Dunhuang, where it occurs in early sculptural representations dated to the 5th century.

Be this as it may, suffice it to say here that according to Lee (*op. cit.*, p. 317), who has analysed this particular typology, none of the Central Asian or Indian examples can be classified as representing the Bodhisattva Maitreya, as has been claimed by other scholars. Lee examines the narrative panels in Chinese art and concludes that the pensive Bodhisattvas often occur in the context of the historical Buddha

forsaking the palace, saying goodbye to his much loved horse Kaṇṭhaka (who dies of grief) and adopting the lifestyle of an ascetic. Korean and Japanese images, on the other hand, seem to belong to the then flourishing Maitreya cult. In Japan, this figure becomes an independent deity in the Esoteric Buddhist schools. The Miroku (Maitreya) of the Chuguji is one of the most famous examples of this posture in Japan, where the pose is known as the *hanka-shi-i-za* (half lotus position) .

A rather unusual variation of this pensive posture occurs in a bronze image of a four-armed Avalokiteśvara from Java (Scheurleer and Klokke 1988, p. 79, pl. 27). I am not aware of this iconographic combination elsewhere, although several such images are known from Java. The Bodhisattva is depicted expressing great compassion (*mahākaruṇā*), with his upper right arm bent at the elbow, and his extended fingers touching his head just above his right temple, in a manner suggesting the resting of his weary head on his arm; he holds a rosary on the palm of the same upper right hand. In his upper left hand he holds a book and on his lower left a jewel (*cintāmaṇi*). Scheurleer and Klokke date this image to the late 9th - early 10th century.

Before concluding this section, there is one more iconic type that I shall briefly allude to. This is the figure of the starving Bodhisattva Siddhārtha represented by one example in this exhibition (cat. no. 6), which is unfortunately in a fragmentary state with only the head remaining. The Gandhāran artist seems to have not only invented but also lavished great thought and care in its depiction. I am including this type under Bodhisattva typology since such images portray the historical Buddha before his Enlightenment. Several examples are known of this type of icon but all come from Gandhāra or Gandhāra influenced Central Asia. The other Indian schools did not adopt this type, and to the best of my knowledge it is unknown in South East Asia, although it did occur in artistic centres along the overland Silk Road.

III. The Journey of Styles: A Cultural Reaction and an Aesthetic Response

III. 1 Art Styles along the sea routes

When the Indian Nobel laureate Tagore visited the countries of South East Asia for the first time, he is said to have remarked in an incredulous tone of voice, "I see India everywhere and yet do not recognise it". One can empathise with him as one stares in bewilderment at, for example, a narrative relief depicting the marriage of Arjuna to his bride Subhadra (an episode from the Sanskrit epic, the Mahābhārata) etched on the walls of the Caṇḍi Sūrawana in Eastern Java (Bernet Kempers 1959 pls 302-303), or tries to fathom which of the images represents the Hindu Goddess Durga in the narratives Caṇḍi Sukuh (Fontein 1990, p. 59). Cultural transformations had taken place and a completely new aesthetic had evolved in 15th century Javanese art, to which period both the above examples belong. Such examples of complete stylistic transformation of an original Indic stimulus are not hard to come by – the Hindu God Śiva sporting a pointed beard, and shown with the Sinic slant of the eye or wearing a Balinese topeng mask are frequently met with in late Indonesian art.

The responses were oftentimes less dramatic; more subtle yet nonetheless obvious. Hindu imagery seems to have lent itself relatively more to the process of adaptation and transformation than Buddhist imagery. Large numbers of Javanese images have been identified by scholars as portrait statues, representing both a deified king (or his ancestor, or wife) and a god (related more often to the Hindu Gods Śiva and Viṣṇu rather than to Buddha). King Kṛtanagara of the Singhasāri dynasty in Eastern Java, who died in 1292, was apotheosised not only as Śiva, but also as the Mahāyāna Buddhist *jīna* Akṣobhya. Ādityavarman, a fascinating character who ruled in Sumatra in the 14th century, was a follower of a hybrid Śaiva-Baudha Tantric cult and was apotheosised as a Bhairava.

All the above examples clearly point to major changes in Javanese culture and aesthetics in the later part of what, for want of a better term, is designated the Hindu-Javanese Period (*circa* 5th-15th centuries). Monuments and plastic art of the earlier period (*circa* 7th-10th centuries), when political power was concentrated in Central Java, betray strong 'Indic' influences, with the term Indic connoting a multiplicity of visual stimuli. This term 'Indic' is preferred to the term 'Indian' since the latter suggests purely Indian influences while the former suggests both Indian influences, for example, on Sri Lanka, and 'Indian-inspired' Sri Lankan influence on Indonesia and so on, in an ongoing process of stimuli and responses that was both dynamic and multilateral. The chief visual impetus from the Indian sub-continent in the period prior to the 13th-14th centuries, the *terminus ad quem* of this exhibition (the only exceptions being a few Nepalese and Tibetan exhibits of a later period) was generated by the following schools of plastic art: Gandhāra, (the northwest) Mathura, (north) Amarāvatī, (southeast) Gupta Mathura, Gupta Sarnath, (again north) Ajanta, (central India) Pāla, (northeast) Pallava and Chola, (southeast) to simply mention a broad spectrum of styles, often named after geographical place names (Map I).

It is to this earlier phase of Indonesian art, popularly called the "Central Javanese Period" (despite the many criticisms levelled against the use of this term and the newer alternative "Classical Period" faring no better),[4] that many of the famous Buddhist monuments, such as Borobudur, Pawon Mendut, Sari and Sewu belong (Map IV). The sculptures in these shrines as well as the *bas reliefs* carved on the outer walls are all considered to belong to the school of Central Javanese art.

When political power shifted from central Java to eastern Java, somewhere around the year 929, a whole new cultural process was set in motion. That the visual arts was not the only medium to register changes is borne out by an examination of both literary and epigraphical sources. New versions of the Hindu epics were adapted to suit the purposes of the Javanese theatre, and Sanskrit, the language of the Indian and Indonesian courts and ecclesiastics, receded into the background in East Javanese epigraphs to be replaced by Old Javanese.

As Buddhist art is the focus of this exhibition, it excludes almost half of the art of ancient Indonesia, since the two faiths, Hinduism and Buddhism, appear to have existed side by side. New Buddhist finds are coming to light, and in 1982 a huge Buddha statue, more than eight feet tall, was unearthed in Central Java at Caṇḍi Bogang, although no major architectural ruins were found alongside (Fontein *op. cit.* p. 38). This has led to speculation as to whether these huge statues were ever housed in large monuments or were simply free standing statues in an open courtyard. If the latter can be demonstrated, then the iconic placement of statues and the relationship between icon and sacred space would have been a purely Indonesian innovation. In Bali, for example, there is an absence of enclosed space and the *locus sanctus* is the *padmāsana* or the stone seat dedicated to the Sun god, which is also exposed to the sky. Ho discusses in the context of Early Chinese monasteries the relationship between icons and sacred space, which has interesting divergences from and parallels with this example.

Buddhist sculptures in South East Asia were made of both stone and metal. In this exhibition we have seven examples of Indonesian art (cat. nos. 36-42), with the ascription of one of them being questioned by Krairiksh (entry to cat. no. 40). Of these, just one (i.e. cat. no. 36) is a stone Buddha head from Borobudur. Of the metal images only two come from Eastern Java (the number of metal statues so far discovered from Eastern Java is far fewer than those from Central Java) and these still retain strong Indic features.

The Buddha head from Borobudur (cat. no. 36) has to be imagined in its artistic and religious context. A solitary piece in an exhibition does scant justice to the artistic milieu. If this head did belong to one of the seventy two Buddhas placed inside the latticed *stūpas* in the top three terraces of Borobudur, as the MIK reports suggest, the pilgrim would have come face to face with this iconic representation only

after having examined several miles of narrative *bas reliefs* on the walls of the lower square terraces as he performed the Buddhist ritual of circumambulation of the *stūpa*. Whether or not one agrees with the interpretation of many scholars that the pilgrim, while performing his rite of circumambulation, was expected to experience a progression from the world of form to the world of formlessness, these Buddhas behind their enigmatic lattices certainly convey a sense of spiritual mystery. The message that the architect and ecclesiastics who planned this complex monument tried to convey has, however, not yet been deciphered by the generations of scholars who have worked on this edifice.

The combination of strength and introspection in Borobudur Buddhas suggests faint traces of south Indian art, of both Amarāvatī and post-Amarāvatī styles. This head is not powerful like the Amarāvatī Buddha (cat. no. 4) not robust like the Mathura Buddha (cat. no. 21), nor soft like the Sarnath Buddha (cat. no. 23a) and while it has the strength of the Gupta Mathura head (cat. no. 22), the shape of the face and the expression are different. The Borobudur artist took a little of each school, and combined them in a manner uniquely Central Javanese in form and spirit. This figure, if complete, would have been seated in *vajrāsana*, the monastic garments would have been transparent as in the Gupta Sarnath style (fig. 5) and he would have been in *dharmacakrapravartanamudrā*. There is no monument like Borobudur in India and although it is not particularly special from the architectural/technical point of view, the layout, the placement of texts and the manner of interspersing the narrative with the iconic gives Borobudur its true significance.

Turning now to bronzes: It was Bernet Kempers (1933) who first made a serious study of the relationship between Indian and Indonesian bronzes, which he referred to as "Hindu-Javanese" bronzes. He focused his study on the finds from Nalanda, where an inscribed copper plate grant was found which recorded the gift of land by a Pāla king for the upkeep of a monastery built by the Śailendra monarch Bālaputradevā of Śri Vijaya. Thus, epigraphic evidence corroborated art historical findings. Pāla influence on Javanese bronzes has since been well documented. Most of the Indonesian bronzes are small, and since none are inscribed-dating them is fraught with problems. In addition, in many cases even the exact provenance of the finds is not known. The only way of assigning dates therefore depends on their style. Scheurleer and Klokke (1988, pp 24-39) have classified Indonesian bronzes into seven groups. The first five groups deal with finds from Java. Group 1 includes south Indian portable bronzes and Javanese examples of south Indian influenced images. By south India we mean the Amarāvatī school (*circa* 2nd-3rd centuries CE) and those school immediately following. Several bronzes of the Amarāvatī school have been found distributed all over South East Asia, including one in Sulawesi (Fontein 1990, pl. 36, p. 180). Most of these bronzes were probably made in south India and taken to the islands by sailors. The Amarāvatī style (fig. 8), with some modifications, continued past the 6th century during the Eastern Chalukya period. This school influenced the Anurādhapura school in Sri Lanka. In the meantime, the transparent drapery of the Gupta school and other north Indian features were introduced into the south Indian schools. This resulted in Gupta-inspired Buddhist sculptures from Buddhapād, a site near Amarāvatī. This model greatly influenced South East Asian bronzes.

Group 2 includes all works of north-eastern Indian origin in Java, and also Javanese bronzes made under the influence of this artistic stimulus. As pointed out by Huntington and Huntington (1990, p. 208), Pāla (8th-12th centuries) influence is marked mainly in metal images from Indonesia, with the majority coming from Javanese workshops, although a few examples are known from Sumatra. Again, it is particularly Pāla metal images that seem to have influenced the Javanese metal ones. Since the Pāla examples in this exhibition are all of stone, and these do not seem to have had a great impact on Indonesian bronzes, it is pointless to refer to them in this connection. We have several examples of Javanese bronzes.

The only silver Maitreya of the Pala period (cat. no. 28) is dated to the 12th century, when Pāla influences appear to have waned in Indonesia.

Scheurleer and Klokke and Bautze-Picorn (Bautze-Picorn 1993, pp 280- 281 and in *passim*, pp 277-292; she refers to both stone and bronze work) have examined objects of the Pāla period from excavated monastery sites in East Bengal (present day Bangladesh), and feel that the influences on Javanese bronzes were more pronouncedly regional, and from areas such as the Comilla and Chittagong districts, much further east of Nālandā (in the state of Bihar). The only example in this exhibition that closely corresponds to the characteristics of Group 2 is cat. no. 37; and, in a slightly more distant manner, number 38 also reveals strong Pāla influence. In its sombreness, the Buddha in *pralambapādāsana* (cat. no. 37) closely resembles a similarly seated Buddha from Mendut carved on stone. Several Buddhas seated in this position and depicted in this *mudrā* are known from the Mon school of art in Thailand (7th-10th centuries), and the slightly square face of this Buddha reminds one of the Dvāravati sculptures, particularly from the atelier of Nakhon Pathom.

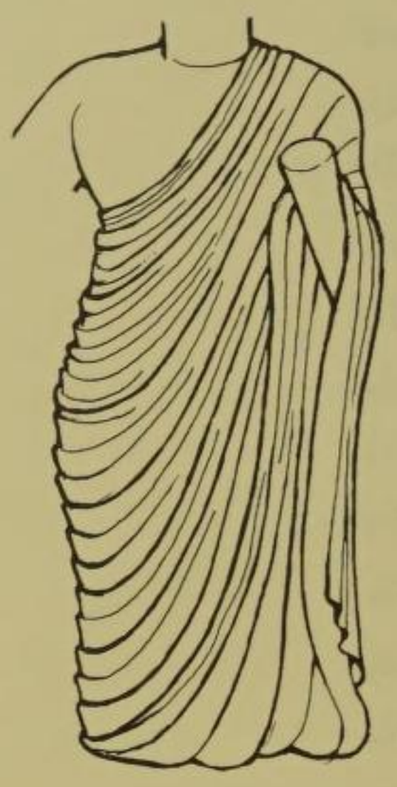


Fig. 8 Amarāvatī, folds on Buddha's robe

The Javanese metal images belonged mainly to Mahāyāna Tantric iconography, and the early themes of the life of Buddha or scenes connected with his life do not seem to have been their primary concern. Images of Ratnasaṁbhava and his consort, Avalokiteśvara and Tantric deities in *maṇḍala* formations were more popularly represented. This Tantric connection is understandable in the context of the close contacts between the archipelago and the Indian Buddhist universities of Nālandā, Vikramaśīla and the Buddhist establishments at Maināmati in Bangladesh. These were centres of Tantric learning and claimed among their staff renowned teachers and scholar monks such as Atīśa (cat. no. 61), Abhayakaragupta (author of Niṣpaṇṇayogāvali) and Sākyasrī, to name only a few. It is difficult to separate iconography from texts and both from style. It is important to note that iconography was absorbed more readily, and style was allowed a comparatively freer reign.

The third group was classified by Scheurleer and Klokke as belonging to a purely Javanese style of the Central Javanese period. The seated Avalokiteśvara (cat. no. 39) belongs to this group. Two bronzes from Eastern Java and dated to the earlier phase of East Javanese art are also illustrated in this catalogue (cat. nos. 41 and 42). The maṇḍala of Amoghapāśā (the Bodhisattva with an unfailing noose, which he uses to lead people to Enlightenment) is an interesting example of an eight-armed Amoghapāśa form of Avalokiteśvara, rarely depicted in India although popular elsewhere in the Buddhist world. The remaining four groups in the classificatory system of Scheurleer and Klokke do not concern us here as they are not represented in this exhibition.

Before we conclude our discussion of Indonesian art in this exhibition, there is one intriguing example (cat. no. 40) which defies precise classification. In this context it is worth remembering that modern political boundaries of the region represent markers of our time and not of the first millennium. In the MIK reports, the image is labelled "Thailand, Sri Vijaya, 9th-10th century". Not only the ascription of this image to Sri Vijaya, but also the very geographical label of Śri Vijaya, remain an enigma. Śri Vijaya was a part of what we would now call the 'Indonesian Maritime Empire'. Its political authority is believed to have extended across Sumatra, Java, Borneo and the Malay Peninsula. It was a rich and powerful empire, which controlled the maritime lanes of the 'Silk Roads'. The monarchs of this mighty empire were lavish patrons of Buddhism and many revered scholars stopped in Śri Vijaya enroute to and from China (Ghose, *vide ante*, p. 6). Only fragmentary information is available on Śri Vijayan history, and even less is known about its art. All we can surmise is that Post-Amarāvatī, Chalukyan and Pallava art from south India appear to have influenced Śri Vijayan art. Krairiksh prefers to group Śri Vijayan art under the broad rubric of "Peninsular Styles", and he discusses south Indian influences under the category of "art of the Krishna River valley" (Krairiksh 1979, p. 25).

Chaiya was an important centre of Śri Vijayan art from the 5th to12th centuries, and responded to several external visual stimuli, the most important being from the Sarnath region and belonging to the Gupta school of art. The Gupta idiom predominated in the early phases of South East Asian art as a whole. The smooth surfaces of the torso, transparent drapery, elegant stance and the look of gentle introspection were all the hallmarks of the Sarnath school at its best, and this led to its designation as the 'Classical' school of Indian art. Peninsular Thailand was the recipient of three major artistic styles: Gupta (5th-7th centuries), Mon (7th century) and Pāla (8th-10th centuries). Krairiksh traces strong Cham influences on the image illustrated in cat. no. 40. There was a brief Cham (from Champa in southern-central Vietnam) cultural interlude in the 9th-10th centuries in this region, and it is to this period that Krairiksh dates the image, which may have been made in Champa and taken to Thailand by Cham travellers.

Thailand had continuous contacts with India, Burma and Kampuchea and hence its art shows a fascinating mix of styles. The broad range of styles includes (apart from the Peninsular styles referred to above): Mon (6th-10th centuries in central, 8th-10th in northeastern and 10th-13th centuries in north Thailand), Khmer (6th-14th centuries in northeastern and 10th-13th in central Thailand), Thai styles of Sukhothai, (13th-15th centuries), Lan Na (13th-19th centuries), U-Thong (13th-14th centuries), Ayuthya (14th-18th centuries) and Ratnakosin (18th century to the present). Of these only two concern us here. There are two interesting examples in this exhibition dating from the early pre-Khmer period. Cat. nos 43 and 44 represent early 8th century styles; the former comes from a regional school of bronzes, and the latter belongs to the Mon period. Cat. nos 49 and 50 belong to the later Thai styles of Sukhothai and U-Thong respectively.

We shall begin with the Mon-Dvāravati example (cat. no. 44). The name Dvāravati, like Sri Vijaya, is still something of an enigma in South East Asian history. As Pal points out (p. 213), "The history and culture of the Dvāravati period are still not very well documented", and we still do not know which of the Mon sites was the capital of this kingdom. All Mon styles of art found within the confines of present-day Thailand are designated "Mon-Dvāravati" by art historians, but Krairiksh prefers the use of just "Mon".

The Mon standing Buddha in *abhayamudrā* (cat. no. 44) reveals strong influences from the Gupta Sarnath school; the transparent drapery, smooth line of the body and the slightly flexed stance can be traced to Sarnath (cat. no. 23). However, the shape of the face is entirely indigenous. The famous art historian Reginald Le May once compared a photograph of the face of a Mon Buddha with that of a present day Mon person and pointed out how actual ethnic types had prompted the features of Mon Buddhas. However, the large curls on the *uṣnīṣa*, the joined eyebrows, and even to some extent the shape of the face indicate influences from the Nagapattinam school of Buddhist bronzes dated to the period between the 6th and 8th centuries from south India. Krairiksh identifies local regional variations in Mon figures, and by following his binary classification we can place this figure in the Lopburi region. He describes the characteristic features of the Lopburi variant of the Mon school as a slightly rounded face and pointed chin, eyebrows that are joined and executed in thick relief, and a full wide mouth (Krairiksh 1979, p. 34). The body is abstracted by means of an extreme simplification of the lines, and the hands of the image are proportionately shorter than the long torso and legs. Krairiksh attributes this last characteristic to the Lopburi atelier of Mon art, as distinct from other Mon production centres such as Nakhon Pathom. This Buddha image has lost its left hand, while the right is in *vitarkamudrā* (the teaching or argumentative *mudrā*). Mon Buddha images were often depicted with both hands in *vitarkamudrā*, a feature I have not encountered in Indian art, and it seems to have evolved out of a synthesis of Gupta Sarnath idiom with that of the Chinese art of the 5th and 6th century CE (Krairiksh 1982, p. 19 and fn. 21). This was,

however, the most favoured gesture for Mon Buddha images, although other combinations of *mudrās* are also known.

Although the exact provenance of the image in cat. no. 43 is unknown, we do know that it came from north-eastern Thailand. It is stylistically very close to the Prakhonchai bronzes, named after their findspot, Prakhon Chai in Buriram province. A number of bronzes of this group belonging to Mahāyāna iconography were discovered in the 1960s. Stylistically they are homogenous and relate to Kampuchean bronzes of the Kampong Preah school (*circa* 706-800) and the school that preceded it, the Prei Kmeng (*circa* 635-700). The finds vary in size, the smallest is about 13 centimetres in height and the largest approximately 3.3 metres (the Bodhisattva from Ban Thanot in Korat, i.e., the Nakorn Ratchasima area). The Maitreya image in this exhibition, like all the Bodhisattva images in the Prakhonchai group, is depicted as a youthful figure with a small moustache and his hair in ascetic locks. Boisselier believes that the treatment of the hair was influenced by Śri Vijayan styles (Boisselier 1975, p. 172). Another characteristic feature of these bronzes is the manner in which the lower garment is kept in place with a cord, which is tied in a specific manner. The figure is worked fully in the round and is slender with subtle plasticity. It is interesting to note that while the Buddhas in this group are related to the Mon style, the Bodhisattvas belong to the pre-Angkorean art tradition. The precise dating of this image is difficult, but this group of bronzes has been dated to a period between the 7th and 9th centuries. We know little about the political climate in which these artistic products were made. It has been suggested that the reigning dynasty was called the Canasa, who were probably feudatories of the rulers of a kingdom called Chen La in central and south Kampuchea. We know very little about this kingdom and it seems probable that the Khmers were still divided into small principalities during this period.

The consolidation of Khmer power began in the early part of the 9th century, when the foundation of the great Empire of Angkor was laid. The story of Angkor interfaced with that of Thailand since the Angkorean Empire extended to include much of northeast Thailand, the territories to the north and west of the Dangrek mountain range. There was as such a clearly identifiable Khmer period in Thai art and politics. Kampuchean plastic art is highly individualistic and although the iconography is Indic inspired, there is very little Indic influence in style. The most striking feature of much of Khmer art is the total lack of ornamentation, the completely indigenous manner of depicting drapery, and the preponderance of square faces with very set jaws. We have in this exhibition an excellent, although unfortunately damaged, example of a Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara from the Baphuon school (11th century). Characteristic of this school are: long pierced ears, often with ornaments, folds of flesh on the neck, and a dimple on the chin, which is often described as a cleft, and the Khmer garment known as a *sampot* worn low in the front exposing the navel and very high at the back where it is depicted with a butterfly shaped knot. The images of this school also tend to be very frontal and to have quite distinctive features, with a large head in proportion to the slender body, large eyes that are incised and not carved, and deeply outlined lips. This Bodhisattva image should be imagined in the context of the architectural activities being conducted at the same time, especially the construction of the grandiose mountain temple Baphuon (which has given its name to this sculptural style), built by the Angkorean king Udayādityavarman II (who ascended to the throne in 1050). Baphuon was colossal in size, and the largest temple at Angkor after Angkor Wat. However, the temple was dedicated to the Hindu God Śiva, again revealing the coexistence of the two faiths.

To the best of my knowledge, it was during the Baphuon period that the Nāga Buddha (cat. no. 46) was introduced for the first time in Khmer art. The narrative and the iconic type were common knowledge long before the 11th century (the date of Baphuon), and they occur frequently in the Mon art

of Thailand (7th-10th centuries). According to Brown the concept of the Nāga Buddha was reinforced in Bodh Gaya. Brown builds his argument around the fact that a combination of two iconic traits, namely, Buddha sitting on a coiled snake and at the same time in *bhūmisparśamudrā* (symbolising his victory over Māra and his subsequent Enlightenment) appeared for the first time in Khmer art only in the 12th century, the period when the Angkor Wat style was prevalent. Until this time all Buddhas seated on serpents were in *dhyānamudrā*. This combination of the snake with the *mudrā* is what distinguishes such images from those of earlier Mon Dvāravati school Buddha icons sheltered by Mucalinda, and the even earlier examples of the same type from Sri Lanka and south India. Brown further remarks that, "Neither the unfinished Borobudur Buddha nor the Khmer earth touching Buddha on the snake has an Indian artistic prototype on which it is modelled" (*ibid.*, p. 121), although he concludes that both drew their conceptual inspiration from the Bodh Gayan artists. It was the Pāla revival of the Māravijaya in art that provided the stimulus for South East Asian artists, and the Nāga Buddha became a standard Khmer form of representation in the 12th and 13th centuries in Kampuchea and Khmer inspired Thai art. The 12th-13th century representations are much more iconic and hieratic than the more natural and approachable examples of the same theme from the Baphuon period. Another major artistic and religious change that took place in the 12th century is reflected by the contrast between 11th century Buddhas, which are starkly unadorned, and later Buddhas who wear a crown, necklace, armlets and bracelets and who are also often depicted carrying a jewel in the hand, one of the attributes of the Medicinal Buddha Yao Shi fo (the King is said to have built 102 hospitals) in Chinese and Japanese Buddhist art. The Nāga Buddha in this exhibition belongs to this last type, with both his hands in the *dhyāna* pose.

The popularity of this theme in Khmer art can be explained by the close connection between Khmer royalty and the cult of the *nāga*. Zhou Daguan who visited Angkor in 1296-97 recalls a popular belief current in Angkor at the time, that the Khmer king was expected to ritually cohabit every night with a *nāga* princess (who assumed for the purpose a human form) in order to perpetuate the welfare of the Khmer ruler, realm and people.

The Angkor Wat style acquired its name from the colossal mountain temple built by Sūryavarman II (r. 1113-1150), which was dedicated to the Hindu God Viṣṇu. Sūryavarman II was succeeded by Jayavarman VII (r. 1118-1219) who was a Buddhist. The Ta Prohm and Preah Khan temples were built by this monarch to honour his parents in the apotheosised form of Lokéśvara (Avalokiteśvara) and Prajñapāramita. Thus the relationship between royalty and religion did not alter with the change of faith. These two deities, along with the Nāga Buddha were the patron deities of the new monarch. In spite of its great achievements, the Khmer royal house was besieged by enemies from all sides during the reign of Jayavarman VII. Giteau (1976, p. 249) explains the shift of royal patronage from Hinduism to Buddhism at this time by connecting it specifically to the catastrophic Cham (from south-central Vietnam) invasion of 1177, and the need for fresh sources of legitimisation of power. It was in these uncertain times that Tantricism seems to have made headway. Although it reached Kampuchea in the 10th-11th centuries, Tantric Buddhism received fresh stimulus during the reign of Jayavarman VII. It had been popular in Phimai, northeast Thailand, under the Khmers and the provincial Thai school of art seems to have exerted a major influence over mainland Khmer art and ideology. It is to this last great phase of Khmer art that the bronze Hevajra illustrated in cat. no. 47 belongs. This deity was very important in the Esoteric school of Buddhism and was one of the major protective deities in Tibetan Buddhism. Woodward (1981) discusses the establishment of complex religio-political rituals at this time, all of which had a great impact on sacred art and iconography. In addition to introducing changes in iconographic patterns, Jayavarman VII also introduced a new aesthetic in Khmer art. However, a Tantric work of art cannot

capture these stylistic changes and we do not have any non-Tantric works from this period in the exhibition. Suffice to say that the monarch introduced the more human face of royalty to his subjects in his epigraphs, and in keeping with this, a softer, gentler face with a sadder smile was portrayed in art. It is difficult to distinguish between 12th and 13th century Khmer bronzes, and I refer the reader to Krairiksh's work on the subject (Krairiksh 1982).

Starting with the Maitreya from Thailand (cat. no. 43), we have been continually moving between Thailand and Kampuchea because these two cultures have overlapped at different periods of their history and this has left a strong impress on the art of the region. By means of the next two exhibits (cat. nos. 49 and 50), I shall introduce two styles that were purely Thai innovations, namely Sukhothai and U-Thong.

The Sukhothai Buddhas are products of an age when the Thais asserted their independence from Khmer overlordship. This was also the period when ethnic Thais began to constitute an important segment of the population and hence the art schools are specifically designated Thai from this period onwards. A great artistic centre evolved in the city of Haripuñjaya in northern Thailand, in a state called Lan Na, which had belonged to the Mons but was captured by the Thais in 1291-1292. I shall not dwell on this since we have no exhibits from this major Thai school, except to mention that this school was greatly influenced by the Pāla art of Bengal and the art of Pagan from Myanmar, and in its later phase was very much under the influence of Sukhothai. Krairiksh has described in his article in this catalogue the iconography of the 'Sihing' type Buddha and its introduction in Sukhothai in 1426 by a sect originating in Sri Lanka. This iconic type is also attributed to Sri Lanka.

The Sukhothai artist created a completely new aesthetic as he turned away from the Khmer legacy and looked to his northern neighbours, the artists from Lan Na, for inspiration. Since only about half a dozen Sukhothai images are dated, their chronology is based purely on stylistic grounds. A new iconographic type, that of the walking Buddha, which has been described as light, sinuous lines in motion, was the product of the Sukhothai genius. The bronze example of a Buddha seated in *paryankāsana* and in *bhūmisparśamudrā* (cat. no. 49) was the most popular iconic type of this school. By the 14th century, Sukhothai Buddhas were characterised by a high, stylised flame on the *uṣnīṣa*. The long oval face, slim elongated torso, arched eyebrows and long fingers (except for the Jinarāja type in which all fingers are of equal length) give Sukhothai Buddhas a unique grace and elegance. It is interesting to note, as Fontein points out in his article, the way in which certain cultures made certain choices. The flame or *ketumālā* was popular in both Chola and Anurādhapura Buddha (cat no. 33) images and, after a gap of nearly two hundred years, it resurfaces in Sukhothai, within a completely different aesthetic and stylistic context.

Formerly designated the U-Thong style, and now called the Suphanburi/Sankhaburi styles, on the basis of their provenance, this school is stylistically eclectic and forms the *terminus ad quem* for South East Asian art in this exhibition. This particular example belongs to the group commonly called U-Thong C, a group very much influenced by the Sukhothai school (see p. 225). The image in cat. no. 48 is enigmatic and has been difficult to date, but it shows the persistence of motifs, iconography and stylistic features of earlier schools in the religious art of South East Asia. This image exhibits several of the stylistic features of the Late Bayon period (13th century; the art during the reign of Jayavarman VII).

I have briefly discussed elsewhere in this catalogue Myanmar's relationship with Sri Lanka and the exchange of ecclesiastic missions between the two countries that were finally conducive to the establishment of Theravāda Buddhism in Myanmar. There are two examples of Buddha images from the Pagan period in this exhibition (cat. nos. 34 and 35). The state of Pagan under its ruler Anirudha (1044-1077) established contacts with the Pāla kingdom in India, and during the reign of the next king, Kyanzitha (1085-1113), a Burmese mission arrived at Bodh Gaya (which was under Pāla rule) and the Bodh Gaya temple was

repaired by the Burmese. The state of Pagan also conquered the Mon state of Thaton in Lower Myanmar. Thus Pagan was exposed to several external stimuli during the Pagan period. The bronze Buddha (cat. no. 34) reflects strong Pāla influences in the shape of the torso, the broad shoulders, slim hips and rounded thighs, which are characteristically Pagan, as is the treatment of the Buddha's drapery, which is completely transparent except for the flared hem. The wooden Buddha (cat. no. 35), like the Khmer bronze depicting the Nāga Buddha, wears a crown. Such crowned Buddhas were popular in Pāla art, and such crowned standing Buddhas in the Khmer school of Angkor Wat.

III. 2 Art Styles along the overland routes

The term Gandhāra has occurred frequently throughout the above discussion. By the time Indic influences reached the shores of South East Asia, the Gandhāran idiom had already been adopted, adapted and transformed within the subcontinent and was subsumed in other Indic styles. The Gupta school was the great successor of the Kuśāṇa schools of Gandhāra and Mathura, and had been, if one may be permitted to use the term, already Indianised. The term Gandhāra in the strict sense includes North West India, Pakistan and Afghanistan. However, as more research is conducted in the field of Gandhāran art, the areas denoted by this term in an art historical context continue to expand and the line between Bactrian and Gandhāran is also becoming finer. Taddei provides an excellent survey of recent research on Gandhāran art findings in his article in this catalogue.

In this exhibition we have sixteen objects belonging to Gandhāran art. The art of Gandhāra profoundly influenced the art of Central Asia both in iconography and style, and the exhibition includes twenty-nine objects from this region: seventeen mural paintings and sculptures, and ten banners bearing paintings of Buddhist deities. Thanks to the good offices of Marianne Yaldiz, the majority of the Gandhāran examples (except for two important examples, nos. 5 and 6, from the Marilynn Alsdorf Collection in Chicago), and all the Central Asian examples have come from one collection, that of the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin. Yaldiz's article in this catalogue recounts the fascinating story of how this collection was gradually built up in the different museums in Berlin until all were housed under one roof in 1963. At the time of writing they are again waiting to be rehoused.

The exciting saga of scholar explorers racing against each other and against time to collect artifacts from the dry deserts of the ancient Silk Road makes incredible reading. These 19th century explorers included great names such as the Hungarian-born, British educated Indian Archaeological Service personnel, Sir Aurel Stein, and the intrepid German explorers Grünwedel, Waldschmidt and von Le Coq. Their findings and their exploits have been analysed by scholars from several perspectives, from the purely academic to the politically polemical. Be that as it may, the examples of Central Asian art we have assembled in this exhibition are the product of the patient, and often perilous, journeys undertaken by the German team.

Of the Central Asian exhibits, seven come from Kizil, two from Kumtura, six from Bezeklik, and a mural depicting a seductive Buddha under a canopy (which is typical of the atelier) is from Khoco. There are also four banners from this region. From Toyuk comes an exquisite and probably the earliest Eleven-headed Tang image of Guanyin in Central Asia and two banners. There are two banners from Yarkhoto, one from Murtuk, and one from the comparatively lesser known site of Hasar Shahri, and another banner, the exact provenance of which is unknown, and is hence classified under the general label of "Turfan Foothills" (cat. no. 88). Haesner's entries and article in this volume discuss the specific genre of Turfan banners from various perspectives. All the Central Asian examples come from the northern Silk Road (see general map and map on p. 43), which skirts the Taklamakan desert

and connects Kashgar on the west to Dunhuang on the east. The exhibits come mainly from two artistic zones, namely, Kucha and Turfan.

It is difficult to precisely identify Gandhāran influence on Chinese Buddhist art at the eastern extremity of the Silk Road and, as Li indicates in his article, two factors contribute to this complexity: firstly, sinicisation occurred at a very early date and, secondly, even within the more Indic cultural zones, the interaction between the Gandhāra and Mathura schools of Kuśāṇa art started very early on, and was an ongoing process. Thus, it was already a synthesis of Gandhāra-Mathura styles that reached Central Asia and China. Rhie (1976) analyses the drapery of Mathura, Gandhāra and Swat Buddha images and concludes that large Mathura and Devinmori images influenced large images of Yungang, while small Mathura and Swat images influenced the smaller Chinese bronze and stone images. She bases her arguments on a detailed study of the folds of the garments.

Furthermore, the influence of Iranian (Sasanian) and other central and western Asian influences from 3rd century CE onwards, in addition to the well-documented early Graeco-Roman influences, such as those of Bactria and Soghdiana, produced a fascinating mix of styles in Central Asia, as can be seen from Bamiyan, Kakrak (Sasanian influence), Airtam (Graeco-Roman influence), Pianjikent (Sogdian), to cite a few examples. This synthesis of styles made an impact in turn on the already richly developed aesthetic sensibility of Chinese art traditions. The areas of Gandhāra, Bactria and Central Asia were truly the cross-roads of Asian civilisations. It is impossible to write an art history in a chronological manner by placing objects in sequential order for this region, not even for smaller segments of this vast area. Gandhāran art from Pakistan, Afghanistan and north-western India exhibits a tremendous variety of styles and, since the provenance of the objects is often unknown, it is difficult to locate them in space and time. In general, scholars appear to be of the opinion that, and I quote Taddei, "a particular group of sculptures from Swat (showing in my opinion close links with Indian art of the Śunga and post-Śunga period) represents the earliest Gandhāran production" (Taddei *vide infra*, p. 54). These images have been dated to the 1st century CE (for superb photographic illustrations, see Klimburg-Salter 1995, pls. 168 and 169). The two different styles of garments worn by the two Buddhas in the above mentioned Swati images, the treatment of the hair, the wide-open eyes and the overall treatment of the body, are quite distinct in style and combine features that were absorbed in later art schools of both Mathura and Gandhāra. Thus, pre-Kuśāṇa Mathura influenced Swat, and while Mathura of Kuśāṇa times was influenced by Swat in a general sense, the Buddha image itself was probably depicted at an earlier date in Swat.

The controversy over the geographical region in which the earliest Buddha image was made has raged for a long time. The contested zones are Gandhāra and Mathura, the two extremities of the Kuśāṇa empire in the context of the subcontinent (since the Kuśāṇa empire probably extended beyond the River Oxus in the north). The Swati Buddhas seem to have placated the polemicists on both sides, since the earliest Buddha appeared in the Gandhāra region but with strong artistic input from the Gangetic valley. There is a very important icon from the Mathura school of art in this exhibition. The image in number 21 shows Śākyamuni seated under a Bodhi tree prior to his Enlightenment with two Bodhisattvas in attendance. The Buddha's right shoulder is bare and his hair is tied in a knot, which has earned Buddhas of this type the apellation "*kapardin* Buddhas", with the prefix referring to his chignon. The cross influences that permeate the Swati images referred to above and this Buddha in terms of their form, composition and iconography are quite striking. This is not, however, to minimise the differences between the Mathuran and Swati examples, since these are equally striking.

I have already discussed select mudrās and āsanas and shown how several of these originated in the Gandhāra region and noted their extensive influence on Central Asian art. There are some examples from

Gandhāra with striking parallels in Central Asia. The Buddha image in cat. no. 10 shares strong stylistic similarities with a mural form Miran on the southern Silk Road. The majority of Gandhāran examples in this exhibition are dated to the 2nd-3rd centuries CE with some from the 1st century, and a few from the 4th-5th centuries, a period when Gupta art was in full swing in the eastern and north-central regions of India. We have examples of standing Buddhas with both shoulders covered (cat. nos. 7-9), seated Buddhas similarly attired (cat. no. 14), as well as those with the right shouder bare (cat. no. 12), and one example of a Buddha in preaching *mudrā* (cat. no. 8). Issues related to this *mudrā* in Gandhāran art and its relationship with the First Sermon have been discussed elsewhere. While on the subject of *mudrās*, the image in number 17 is an unusual iconographic variant. Could this have been an idiosyncratic depiction of Maitreya, simultaneously the Bodhisttva and the Buddha-to-be?

One can see various types of faces in the art of Gandhāra. The face of the young man in cat. no. 20 and the face of the figure in number 18 are markedly different. Could the young man be from Haḍḍa? This image is in a different medium, i.e. stucco; another later example in stucco is illustrated in cat. no. 11. It was believed that stucco images appeared at a slightly later date than those of stone. Marshall has classified the stuccos to a period after the Sasanian invasion in the 3rd century, and called them Indo-Afghan to distinguish them from the stone sculpture of the Gandhāra region. Zwalf, in partial agreement, says that although both stone and stucco were probably used throughout, the latter was more popular in the later period (Zwalf 1996, p. 69). Several studies of specific sites and the styles of particular ateliers have appeared in recent years, and I would refer the reader to Taddei's article and his extensive bibliography (included in this catalogue as part of a general bibliography).

The Starving Buddha in number 6 to which I referred earlier, and the *parinirvāṇa* scene (cat. no. 16) are both very interesting exhibits. While a number of starving Buddha images are known, the most famous being those in the Peshawar and Lahore museums, the Buddha completely swathed in cloth as in the scene of the Buddha's Great Demise is rather unusual. Interestingly, a similar example comes from Kizil from the 'Māya Cave' (for a photograph and comments see Waldschmidt 1975, pl. 15, p. 80), on the northern Silk Road. In this depiction the Buddha is also covered with swathes of cloth, although the body is placed in a coffin with a dragon's head. This custom of wrapping the body in layers of cloth is possibly a borrowing from Chinese tradition.

Art historians studying the art and culture along the Silk Road have been captivated for a long time by the seductive charm of the Dunhuang murals, and rightly so, for Aurel Stein had stepped into a veritable Ali Baba's cave when he unwittingly opened up to the world the treasure troves of the Mogao Grottoes (caves of unequalled height), especially the so-called library in Cave 17. Paul Pelliot, who followed Stein, succeeded in acquiring what he described as "a third of the whole, about five thousand scrolls". Dunhuang is far better documented than any of the other Buddhist sites along the Silk Road. Most of these sites contained a vast number of caves dug into the sides of the cliffs and hence were called in the local Turkic language the 'Ming Oi', an equivalent of the Chinese term *Qianfodong*, both meaning Caves of a Thousand Buddhas. Dunhuang studies have to some extent dwarfed the importance of other sites, but this is now being corrected by the recent interest in other sites shown by mainland Chinese scholars.

The Kizil Caves are cut into the steep faces of the cliff and are several kilometres in length. There are altogether 236 caves. The German expeditionists impressionistically christened these caves: the Cave of the Painters or the Cave of the Statues and so on. Chinese archaeologists from Beijing University, the Kucha Research Institute and other affiliated institutions, who have taken a deep interest in this region for the last three decades, have numbered these caves in sequence, beginning from the west face of the

gorge (Caves 1-81), and their numbering is given in brackets in this catalogue. Since two-thirds of the 236 caves were the living quarters of monks, storerooms and other utility areas, they do not contain murals. Of the remaining, approximately 80 caves contain mural paintings, and most of these are of the type referred to as "central-pillar caves". The central pillar served the same religious function as the *stūpa* in the Indian rock-cut architecture, for example, at Ajanta, where a *stūpa* with a niche containing a Buddha image was located to the rear apsidal end of Buddhist *caityas* or meeting places/prayer halls. There was a path around the *stūpa* for the devout to circumambulate, which also served as an altar. According to Duan Wenjie, this was borrowed from Bamiyan (Duan Wenjie 1994, p. 221). In Kizil there was often an added chamber behind the central pillar and the ceiling of this chamber and the three walls provided a vast canvas for the paintings that we see in this exhibition. The subject matter of these paintings was mainly *jātaka* stories, the life of Buddha and edificatory *avadāna* tales of human deeds and their moral results. This gave the artists scope for representations of scenes of heaven and hell. Another interesting theme, which was probably prompted by conceptual influences from Iran, is the lavish representation of the constellations, the sun, the moon and signs of the zodiac, interspersed with mythical themes of *garuḍa* (eagles), serpents (*nāgas*) and dragons. The sun and moon, as at Bamiyan, were represented both symbolically as disks as well as anthropomorphically. It is because of this Buddhist context that we have included an image of Sūrya, the Sun God, from Kizil in this exhibition. This sun and moon imagery is also depicted in Dunhuang (e.g., Cave 285, dated to the Western Wei period). The similarity with Kizil and Bamiyan is marked, especially in the costumes of the *devas* and donors, in their cross-ankled sitting positions and in their diadems with flying scarves.

Chinese archaeologists have formulated a dating scheme that differs from that of the German scholars, and as a result we have not included dates for Central Asia in our date chart. The interested reader should consult Ma's paper in this catalogue. The First Phase, to which several of the examples in this exhibition belong, for example, the Cave of the Painters and the Cave of the Statues (Caves 207 and 77) were dated to the 5th century by the Germans, but this phase is dated mainly within the 4th century by the Chinese team. In fact, an even earlier dating has been suggested – as early as the 2nd century – by some Chinese scholars. Le Coq tried to separate the purely Greek influences from the later Graeco-Roman and Hellenic (Eastern) influences in some of the Kizil murals. This led to differences between Le Coq and Grünwedel in dating certain caves belonging to Phase 1. In this catalogue we have also followed the German dating for Phase 2, the 6th century, but this has also been pushed back to the 3rd-5th centuries. The third phase according to the Chinese scholars extends from the 5th to the 7th century, while the German scholars believed that this last phase should be extended into the 8th century. However, the Chinese team has also introduced Phase 4 in the art history of Kizil, which extends from the 7th to the 12th century. The earlier German dating was based on stylistic grounds and paleography. The names of the painters, e.g. Ratna and Saṅketava on wooden panels found in Kizil, and that of Tutuka (see p. 249) on the wall in the Cave of the Painters written in the Brahmi script of northern India and in the Tocharian language, have been used to determine the date of the paintings.

Chinese archaeologists have documented changes in the architecture and subject matter of paintings, and noted, for example, a shift from *jātaka* to *avadāna* stories and changes in the details of motifs, such as the depiction of mountain tops. They have also analysed the placement of icons, their context, and the relationship between icon and sacred space and used this to help them mark phases of development.

The style of Kizil is also referred to as Indo-Iranian since it shows the strong influence of Sasanian art superimposed on the art of Gandhāra and, in the later phases, Ajanta. The curves of Nanda's body (cat. no. 63), his stance, the dream-like quality of his eyes and his short *dhoti*, all indicate Indic influences.

The Vajrapāṇi (cat. no. 64) has to be compared with the Vajrapāṇi of cat. no. 10 to see how Iranian influences had been superimposed on Gandhāran art. It is in the costumes of the donors that the maximum influence from Iran and Soghdiana is noticeable: in the way in which they stand on their toes like a ballerina, in their long embroidered or brocaded tunics, the high bodices and hoop skirts of the lady donors, and in the sophisticated pocket handkerchiefs tucked into their right pockets. Unfortunately, we do not have any of these donor figures in the exhibition. The faces in Kizil murals generally portray a fascinating mix of Scythian, Sogdian, Iranian and Indian, making them a study of the cross-roads of Asia. The most interesting aspect of the Kizil paintings is their visual documentation of certain Buddhist narratives that are not depicted elsewhere, for example, the gradual breaking of the news of Buddha's death to King Bimbiśāra by unrolling a painted canvas and letting the king slowly meander through the sacred life cycle before coming to the last painful scene; and the three beautiful daughters of Māra, converted in Buddha's 'mind's eye' into old witches and hags. They are also extremely absorbing in their use of line and colour, the latter sometimes used with naive eccentricity, for example, in the blue beard and hair of Kāśyapa (cat. no. 68). The use of bright ultramarine (cat. nos 65 and 66) is one of the characteristics of Phase 2 at Kizil, whereas the early Phase 1 is characterised by the use of more subdued browns and greens (cat. no. 64). For sheer seductive charm there is nothing to beat the two coquettishly, yet haughtily poised birds with necklaces in their beaks, a motif copied from Sasanian textiles. This motif after a long journey along the Silk Road by land and sea reached the Shoso-in in Nara. Their fluttering scarves are also attributed to Sasanian influence, and such scarves frequently occur both in Bamiyan and Kizil on Bodhisattva's crowns and adorning the donors, and in examples from Dunhuang.

Turning from the so-called "western" or "Indo-Iranian" art styles of Kizil to the more Sinic "Eastern style" of Kumtura, one notices Chinese physiognomies, dress and accoutrements. Old Turkish and nomadic elements are also present and so are persistent traits of the old Indo-Iranian, in addition to the purely Kumtura innovations such as the flying apsaras. New lines and new shades begin to appear at Kumtura, which is also a huge complex consisting of 112 caves. Cave 22 has a dated inscription corresponding to the year 649 (the period of the Tang reoccupation of the Kucha region). Soon afterwards, this region was conquered by Tibet and by 821, when Tibetan supremacy over this region was acknowledged by the Chinese, the latter's cultural influence appears to have waned. It is interesting to speculate on the way in which politics may have influenced painting since during this latter period there was a total absence of the use of lapiz lazuli in paintings. Gies has tentatively proposed a correlation between the two by pointing out that links with Badakshan in Afghanistan, the source of *lapiz lazuli*, were disrupted at this time (Gies 1996, p. 110). Typical examples of the synthesis of early Indo-Iranian and Chinese styles can be seen in cat. no. 70, a worshipping Bodhisattva from Kumtura. In the 7th-8th centuries Chinese influence was strongly felt in Kumtura.

Leaving Kucha and proceeding in an easterly direction along the northern Silk Road one arrives in Turfan. Almost all our examples from the caves of Bezeklik in Turfan date to the 9th century (cat. nos 71-76). This was a period of Uygur supremacy in this region. The figures in Bezeklik are drawn in three-quarter profile, even from the rear view. They have long, shapely fingers and hands (cat. nos 71 and 76) and the faces often reveal the age, social standing and other details of the secular figures, while sacred figures are depicted according to iconographic conventions. Labels in Brahmi characters very often appear on these paintings in vertical lines above (cat. no. 71) or in cartouches (cat. no. 75 in Turkic).

The art of Turfan belonged mainly to the Mahāyāna faith, but several Tantric features were also introduced, probably by the Tibetans. The tradition of representing several Buddhas in a painting was prevalent all along the Silk Road but was particularly pronounced at Bezeklik. The standing Buddhas

have certain typical features, such as elaborate jewelled chains representing the applied ornaments provided by donors, and several Buddhas and Bodhisattvas have pencil-thin moustaches. The two seated luminous Buddhas in our exhibition (cat. no. 74) show Tibetan influences on Bezeklik. These paintings are extremely pictorial and filled with many bright, rainbow-like colours that are distinctive. Bezeklik and Dunhunag mutually influenced each other. These grottoes were dark and shaded from public view, and when the colours were intact the luminosity of the paintings must have produced dramatic effects. Unfortunately, the paintings in situ are damaged and several large Bezeklik paintings that were taken to Berlin were destroyed during the bombing of Berlin in World War II.

The last category of paintings in this exhibition are banners which exhibit a complex iconography and a variety of styles. The *arhat* illustrated in number 88 has strong Tang features, while the painting in number 87 is both iconographically complex and stylistically eclectic.

Concluding the section on Central Asia at the point at which I began my first introductory article, the scholar monks risked their lives in quest of authenticity and authority and yet, at the end of their journeys, they could still say:

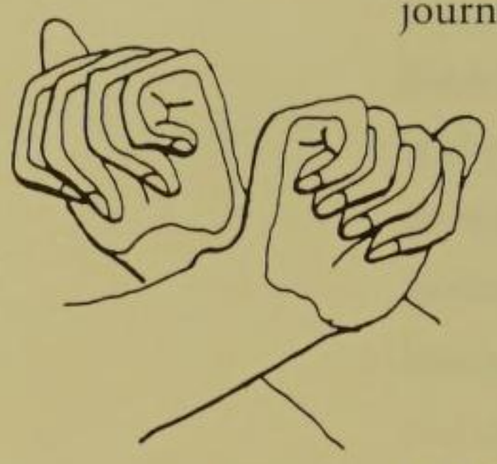


Fig. 9 vajrahumkara *mudrā*

"To witness the source and wander over the Sphere of the Law
It was well to travel through dust and desert
Bright Bright, without beginning or end ...."[5]

Switching from the south-western to the south-eastern section of Central Asia and moving towards the Himalayan regions of Nepal and Tibet, cultural changes begin to appear in art, religion and iconography. The relationship between Central Asia and Tibet went both ways and Khotanese sources vouch for the fact Khotanese art influenced Tibetan styles. Be that as it may, we can detect a synthesis of styles in this region as exemplified by the examples in this exhibition. The Buddha sheltered by Mucalinda in cat. no. 51 from Nepal is iconographically similar to the Khmer Nāga Buddha (cat. no. 46), but stylistically closer to Pāla art of eastern India. In discussing South East Asian bronzes we have seen how they refrained from using both fierce and sexual metaphors. Each culture made a choice which suited its own sensibilities. Thus the *yabyum* pose of Mañjuśrī (cat. no. 52) and Hevajra (cat. no. 54) does not have a Southeast Asian parallel and was introduced in Central and East Asia only under the influence of Tibet. There are several other Tibetan-Nepalese examples, albeit of a later date, but which truly reflect the spirit of this art.

Before I conclude this brief resume of Himalayan art, there is one figure (cat. no. 53) which is iconographically important and aesthetically inviting, that of Vajradhāra from Tibet. He symbolises the Highest Yoga Tantra, and is the emanator of all Buddha lineages. Tsong Kha pa, the 15th century Tibetan founder of Gelugpa, refers to this figure as the "Pervasive Master". His crossed hands (Fig. 9) symbolise Wisdom and Compassion and the Eternal Void (*śūnyata*). Such mystical doctrines were codified by Atīśa, who is represented by a charming example (cat. no. 61). These Esoteric doctrines spread across the Buddhist world: Kobo Daishi, the Master of the Japanese Shingon School, pithily expressed the essence of the Tantric schools thus:

"The Buddhas in the innumerable Buddhist kingdoms
Are nothing more than the unique Buddha in the depth of our soul."

END NOTES

1.The *Aśokāvadana* talks of the sacred geography of Buddhist pilgrimage tradition and also of the actual events connected with the life of Buddha. At Lumbini, Aśoka asks the tree spirit to describe the infant form: "You witnessed his birth and saw his body adorned with marks...!" (Strong, J.S., The Legend of King Aśoka: A Study and Translation of the "*Aśokāvadana*", Princeton, 1983). Chapters 26-29 of *Divyāvadana* (*circa* 2nd century CE) form the *Aśokāvadana*.

2. See "The Hair on the Buddha's Head and *Uṣnīṣa*", Y. Krishan, The Buddha Image: Its Origin and Development, 1996, pp 111-131. See Schroder, U. v., for a description of the marks of a *mahāpuruśa*.

3. The reference here is to the penultimate existence of the Buddha as Vessantara. In that birth he perfected the virtue of generosity by giving all he had, including his wife and sons.

4. Hindu-Javanese, a term that was coined by the veteran cultural historian of Indonesia, N. J. Krom and has stuck with us despite the criticisms that Hindu excludes other faiths, and Javanese excludes other islands of the archipelago. Hindu-Javanese art betrays two distinct phases of evolution: Central Javanese 7th-10th centuries, and Eastern Javanese 10-15th centuries. These terms are problematic since, apart from cultural and artistic nuances, several monuments, for example, Candi Sukuh, belong to the Eastern Javanese school of art but are located in Central Java. The Eastern Javanese school ended, strictly speaking, with the collapse of the Majapahit empire in the 15th century. These two styles differ markedly in the style and ritual content of their architecture and sculpture, and are responses to entirely different socio-religious stimuli. Scholars made attempts to refine these labels and suggested the term "Classical" for Central Javanese, but given that the term "Classical" is a culturally-loaded term, there were hostile reactions to naming by implication the more "nativist" style "non-classical", and the more Indic styles "Classical". The compromise adopted now is to use the terms "Early Classical" and "Late Classical" (see Ghose, R., *Śaivism in Hindu-Javanese Period (circa 5th-15th centuries AD)* M. Phil thesis, The University of Hong Kong, 1967).

5. Cited by Huntington, S., The Pāla-Sena School of Sculpture, 1984, p. 247. This is from an inscription left by a Chinese pilgrim in Bodh Gaya in the year corresponding to 1021 during the Song dynasty.

法相的成立與流傳

Rajeshwari Ghosé 高禮智

經過宗教儀式的祭拜後，造像才成為有意義和力量的法相；在中國，這種儀式稱作"開光"。

法相是智慧和慈愛的象徵，它的模式是複雜而有系統的，例如佛陀的造型便有三十二相。佛的每種手勢（稱"手印"）、坐姿和企立形態均有本身意義。本文討論到幾款常見的手印，包括"定印"、"施無畏印"、"觸地印"和"轉法輪印"。關於菩薩的造型，本文重點介紹"交腳坐"和"思維"這兩種法相。

本文利用展出文物，概括地討論印度佛教藝術與東南亞、中亞絲綢之路佛教藝術的關係和異同。例如在印尼爪哇，大型的造像置於戶外空間，這便是一種獨特的風格；泰國的佛教藝術融合印度、緬甸和柬埔寨的影響，不過到了素可泰時期，泰國藝術家卻能作出新嘗試，創造走動姿勢的佛陀像；而柬埔寨的造像展示鮮明的地方色彩，像身上既沒有裝飾物，衣褶和面相又不同於其他地方的作品；在緬甸方面，印度和斯里蘭卡藝術的影響卻是顯著的。

絲綢之路的佛教藝術與犍陀羅和伊朗薩桑藝術是有很密切的關係。本文以新疆克孜爾和柏孜克里克兩地的壁畫，試舉出這些論點。

The History of the Asian Collection in the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin

Marianne Yaldiz

The Berlin Museum holdings of Asian art originated in the collection of the Great Elector of the German empire at the end of the 16th century. These objects were assembled for the amusement of the nobility, and the earliest report of the treasures housed in such 'art chambers' goes back to inventories first compiled in the year 1603.

The concept of making the collections of the rich and aristocratic accessible to the public first arose in the mid 17th century. This was the initial stage of developments that led to institutions today known as 'museums', that is, buildings containing objects for study. Wilhelm von Humboldt was the first to adopt the view that only a selection of objects should be on view to the public, but other scholars disagreed, preferring to present the collections in their entirety.

In addition to the often discussed issue of whether to separate permanent displays from study collections, the question of whether to partition off the so-called 'civilised' nations from those of the 'primitive' races also arose. At that time, efforts were already being made to detach the art and artefacts of 'civilised' Asian nations from those collected from ethnological cultures. The different sections of Asian art were housed in different museums in Berlin, and hence we have the Museum of Far Eastern Art, the Museum of Indian Art and the Museum of Islamic Art. Furthermore, the Ethnological Departments specialising in Far East, South and Southeast Asian and Western Asian cultures were also set up.

This idea was realised only in 1963, when the Museum of Indian Art was founded. This museum housed a disparate collection of Indian terracottas, sculptures and bronzes from the Maurya period (3rd century BCE-CE 18th century). It held not only a collection of Indian mural paintings and sculptures, but also a rich collection of sculptures and paintings from Southeast Asia. Indo-Asian art objects had been collected since 1829, but outstanding pieces found their way into the museum holdings for the first time only between 1900 and World War I. The reason for this was the increasing interest in India created by scholarly investigations of Indian religions, languages and art.

Although called the Museum of Indian art, this museum became one of the most distinguished institutions on the basis of its *two* important collections. One was the early terracottas, stone sculptures and bronzes from India and Southeast Asia. The other was a collection of Central Asian wall paintings, sculptures, manuscripts and textiles brought to Berlin between 1902 and 1914 by four expeditions to the northern Silk Road that were initiated and organised by the museum. Until the completion of the new building in Berlin-Dahlem, most of the objects were housed in the store rooms of the Ethnological Museum, where they could not be properly exhibited. In October 1971, the permanent exhibition in the new building was formally opened with an accompanying symposium on Indian art, which was attended by some of the most important international scholars in the field.

Of a total of 15,000 objects in the possession of the Museum of Indian Art, 600 went on display. Since this time numerous acquisitions have greatly enriched the collections. The arrangement of the exhibits is not based *purely* on chronological sequence since each art medium, for example, sculpture or painting, or each group of arts and crafts, reached its artistic peak in a different period of time. Hence an attempt has been made, wherever possible, to arrange the objects on the basis of their artistic forms without causing major historical confusion.

Carved steatite seals from Mohenjodāro bearing an as yet undeciphered script are on display along with selected pottery from different sites, all belonging to the prehistoric period (3rd-2nd millennium BCE). Another highlight of this section consists of artefacts unearthed from Sonkh in northern India by a team of archaeologists from the Museum of Indian Art, Berlin, between the years 1966 and 1974.

Important stone sculptures and bronzes of the three main religions – Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism – reflect the development of the arts in different regions of the subcontinent between the 2nd century BCE and the 15th century CE.

From Kashmir in the north to Tamilnadu in the south, from Rajasthan in the west to Orissa in the east, the sculptures represent quite different artistic styles and periods. The oldest pieces belonged to sacred Buddhist *stūpa*, such as those at Sanchi and Bhārhūt, while most of the Hindu images are from temples built during the times of the Guptas (4th-6th century CE) and in mediaeval times. The iconography of the images of the deities, both in terms of their uniqueness and variety, makes the Berlin Museum collection one of the most comprehensive outside India.

In addition to magnificent Indian textiles, elaborate ivory, jade and wood carvings, visitors are often fascinated by the extremely colourful miniature paintings. Here again the main consideration has been to present the essential regional complexity; on the one hand are the Rajput paintings that go back to a literary, religious, historical and musico-theoretical tradition, and on the other, the miniatures created under Moghul rule. The Moghul rulers make themselves known in many of the paintings handed down to us, but there are also a considerable number of miniatures inspired by ancient Hindu mythological themes from the kingdoms of Rajasthan and from the Pahāri region of northeast India, patronised by their semi-independent Indian sovereigns. The Indo-Islamic paintings came from the vast areas around Delhi, Agra, and Lahore, and from areas as far apart as Kashmir and the Deccan.

The art of the Himalayan regions of Nepal and Tibet is represented by various images of the most important deities of the Lamaist pantheon (cat. nos 52-58, 60, 61). In addition to sculptures depicting Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, we find *lokapāla*, *ḍākinī* and images of Buddhist teachers. A number of *thaṅgka* paintings are also on display.

The holdings of the art of Southeast Asia have also been enlarged over the last few years by the addition of several interesting pre-Khmer and Khmer bronzes. The earliest pre-Khmer bronze is a representation of the Buddha Maitreya, dated to *circa* 700 CE (cat. no. 43). The Future Buddha is recognisable by the *stūpa* image in his hair, the lotus stem held in his right hand, and the flask, one of his characteristic attributes, in his left.

The collection of the Museum of Indian Art also focuses on wall paintings, sculptures and manuscripts dated from the 2nd to the 14th century from Chinese Central Asia. Chinese Central Asia began to arouse interest in the early 19th century when travellers with the most diverse of motives felt themselves drawn towards this remote corner of the world. Many nations began their explorations at that time, as did the Germans. The findings from the Turfan expeditions initiated and organised by Albert Grünwedel and Albert von Le Coq between 1902 and 1914 were so impressive and unique that they have now become the main attraction at the museum. It is this Central Asian collection that has made the museum truly famous.

The modern exploration of Central Asia took place over a period of less than 100 years. At its peak it appeared to be almost a scientific race between scholars from the many different countries. In 1898, while Aurel Stein was planning his first expedition and Sven Hedin his third (1899), the Russian scholar Dimitri Klementz began the first investigations of a truly archaeological nature for the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. These investigations were preceded by excellent prepatory work on the part

of Russian and German scholars. It is not surprising, then, that after Klementz's return to Russia, experts engaged in this project quickly established contact with their German colleagues. At the end of September 1899, Russian scholars on their way to the International Congress of Orientalists in Rome, visited Berlin in order to confer with Albert Grünwedel, at that time Director of the Indian Department of the Ethnological Museum. A study of the records clearly indicates that this meeting sparked off German activities in Central Asia and led, not unexpectedly, to further meetings with the Russians. The preliminary reports throw an interesting light on the state of research, the scientific attitude towards the discoveries in Central Asia, and the political situation at that time.

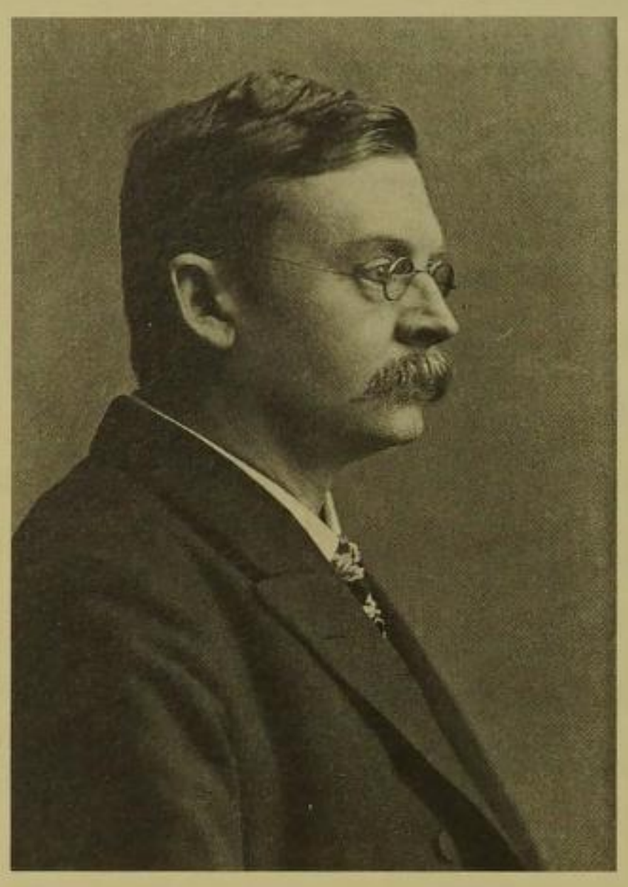


Fig. 1 Albert Grünwedel (1856-1935)

Grünwedel, with the enthusiastic backing of some Berlin Orientalists, became obsessed with the idea of undertaking research of his own in Central Asia. Unfortunately, the willingness of the experts to finance a German expedition in no way matched the enthusiasm of the experts. The files tell of the unmitigated effort, interminable correspondence, and even the begging that was required to realise the project. Particularly depressing for Grünwedel must have been the aloof attitude of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, which was only prepared to lend moral support. Approximately 25% of the cost of the first expedition was, in fact, financed from public funds, namely from the budget of the Ethnological Museum itself. The rest was made up by donations from a private art lover and a wealthy industrialist, along with a grant from the Berlin Committee for the Advancement of Ethnology. The first expedition lasted for nearly a year, including travelling time, and had at its disposal the princely sum of 36,000 marks.

The securing of funds, ratification by the cultural authorities in Berlin, and applications for the necessary travel documents took a very long time. Meanwhile, scientific preparations had also been under way for some time. Contacts between experts from the interested nations were surprisingly good. Although a joint German-Russian expedition was never achieved, scholars in St. Petersburg assisted their colleague Grünwedel in every possible way, above all by facilitating the expedition's transit through Russia and in securing the necessary papers. Stein, whose first expedition had been reported in the London *Times* on 30 March 1901, visited Berlin at the beginning of October 1901 en route to Central Asia for the second time. He related his expedition experiences and gave important advice on local conditions in Chinese Turkestan.

Fig. 2 View of the ruins of Subasi

Finally, on 12 August 1902, Grünwedel, the Orientalist Huth and Theodor Bartus departed for Central Asia. Bartus was a museum handyman whose adventurous career as a sailor had equipped him with numerous talents that would no doubt have come in useful in such a venture. The three-man team headed for the oasis of Turfan on the eastern stretch of the northern Silk Route. This, their first destination, led to the term 'Turfan expedition' being applied to all four ventures, although later expeditions also worked in other locations.

The team did not arrive at their destination until late November 1902, after a strenuous journey lasting for more than three months. From the beginning of December 1902 to early April 1903 they concentrated on several sites in the Turfan oasis, notably in the ancient city near Karakhoja (or Khocho), Sengim, and Murtuk. Grünwedel's first task was to draw a reliable plan of the extensive area around Karakhoja, which, like Subasi, was mostly full of ruins.

Grünwedel published detailed information on the work of the expedition in his *Bericht über archäologische Arbeiten in Idikutschari und Umgebung im Winter 1902-1903* (1906): Idiqutsahri was his name for Khocho, the great ruined city adjoining Karakhoja. This locality and its surroundings did in fact turn out to be a Buddhist city, but, to everyone's surprise, it had even more to offer. There were manuscripts in many languages and scripts: Sanskrit, Uygur, Mongolian, Chinese and Tibetan; relics of the Manichaean religion; and, as was to be established later, relics of the Nestorians, a Christian community. The results of the expedition surpassed all expectations: forty-four crates were filled with the finds – figures of clay and wood, woodcuts, manuscripts, and wall paintings rescued from the rubble of temple ruins; all were carefully packed and transported by camel and boat to St. Petersburg, and thence to Berlin. Grünwedel and Bartus returned to Berlin in July 1903, Huth having left the expedition to pursue philological studies in Osh (Kirghizia). At the end of his long, handwritten report of August 1903, Grünwedel concluded that the organisation of a second expedition was absolutely essential.

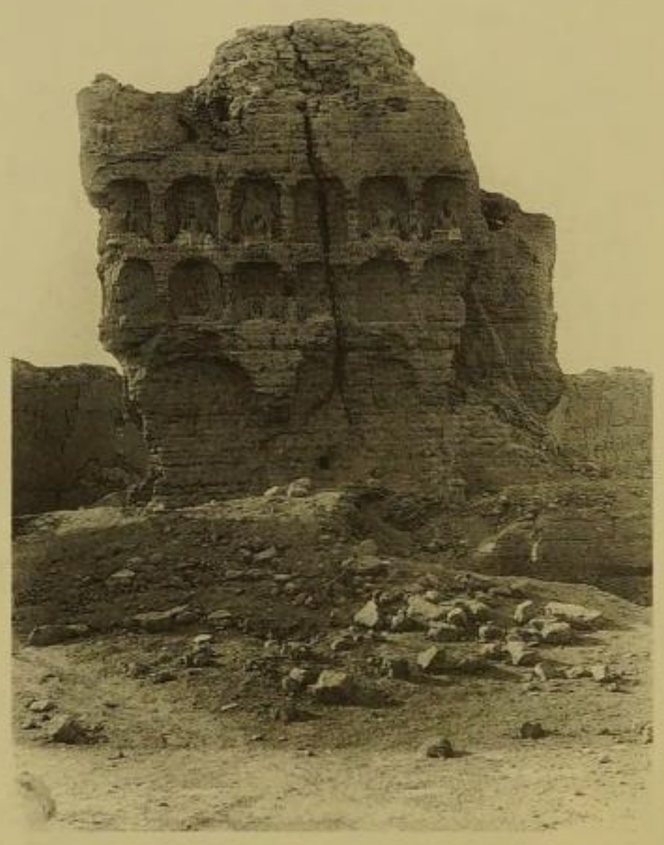


Fig. 3 Ruins of a brick-built *stūpa*, Turfan region

The crates of finds arrived in Berlin in November 1903, and shortly afterwards the material was available for examination by experts. A Committee for the Exploration of Central Asia had been constituted in the meantime by a number of prominent Orientalists under the chairmanship of Professor Pischel. Greatly impressed by the finds, they resolved to equip a new expedition to Turkestan as soon as possible. Thanks to the unreserved support of the scientific community, this time there were no problems with finance and the German Kaiser provided the money for the second expedition from his discretionary fund. The Prussian parliament approved without debate the allocation requested by the Ministry of

Education and Culture for the third expedition, which was to start without delay.

Orientalists around the world had also been exhibiting increasing interest in the activities and findings of the expeditions to Chinese Central Asia. At the International Conference of Orientalists held in Hamburg in 1902, while Grünwedel was on his way to Turfan, Aurel Stein presented examples of his finds from Khotan. In view of the vast and entirely new field of studies offered by Central Asia, the Congress resolved to adopt a proposal made by the Russians in 1899 and to found a society for the exploration of this area on an international basis. Thus was born the Association Internationale pour l'Exploration de l'Asie Centrale et de l'Extrême-Orient, with a central committee in St. Petersburg and national committees in the various countries of Europe and the United States. The committees were to work entirely independently of one another, the central committee serving only to facilitate a systematic development of scientific research and to smooth out conflicts of interest. One of the main objectives was also to "check the senseless destruction of the remains caused not only by the local inhabitants but also by dilettantish travellers." Thus, these serious scientific ventures, prompted by anxiety about the survival of the magnificent relics of a great, lost culture, echoed international concern. A new era had begun for many specialists studying in the Oriental faculties of Western universities. China, however, the land most directly affected, was at that time seemingly unconcerned.

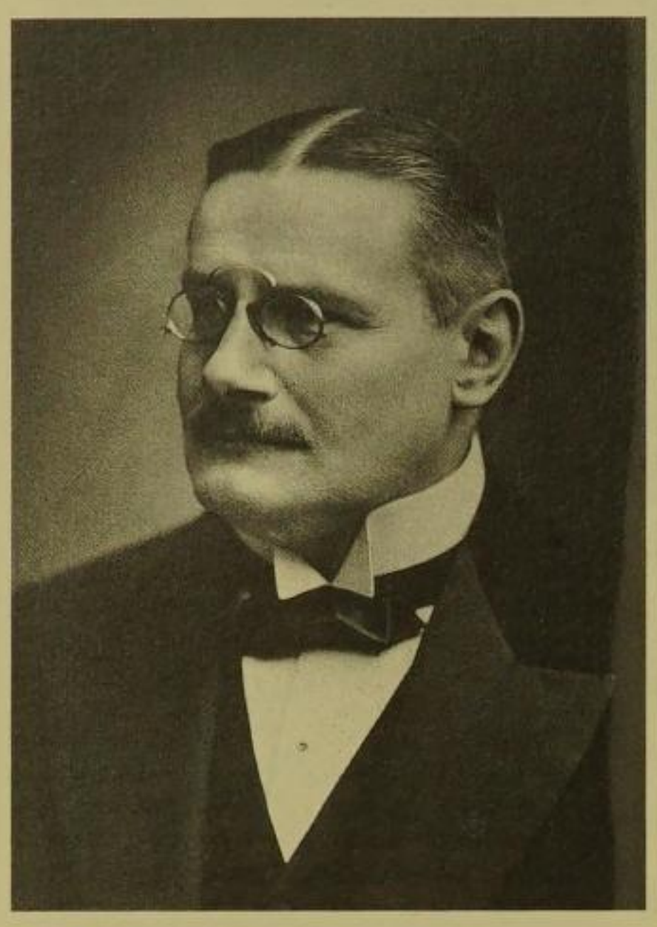


Fig.4 Albert von Le Coq (1860-1930)

The German committee of the international association, under the chairmanship of Professor Pischel and later of Professor Heinrich Lüders, was a national body, as envisaged by the Hamburg conference. The founding of a commission of experts also meant that future projects would not depend on the initiative of a single individual, but would be decided by resolutions of this body. The plan was to dispatch a new expedition as soon as possible. Grünwedel, however, could not travel before 1905 for health reasons, and it was decided to place the Second Royal Prussian Turfan Expedition (November 1904 - August 1905) under the leadership of Albert von Le Coq, who had recently been working as an unpaid volunteer in the Indian Department of the Ethnological Museum.

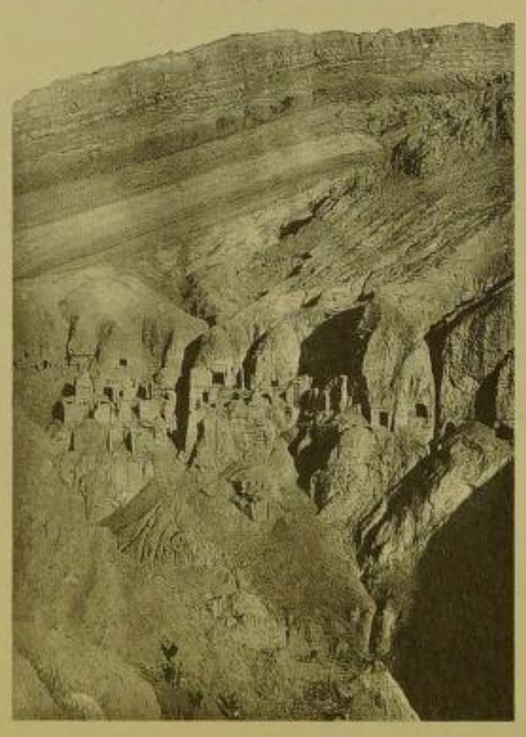


Fig. 5 The cave-temples at Toyuk

Von Le Coq's background was quite unlike that of Grünwedel's. After a regular course of university studies, Grünwedel came to Berlin in 1881 and two years later, while still a young man, was appointed Keeper of the Indian collections at the museum. He had thus risen to become one of the most prominent scholars in his field, winning international recognition for his early work on Buddhist art in India, later translated into English. Albert von Le Coq, on the other hand, who came from a Berlin Huguenot family, had studied commercial subjects in London and America before entering his father's trading firm. Only at the age of forty did Le Coq decide to change his career, beginning his study of Oriental languages in Berlin in 1900. At the same time he worked without pay in the Afro-Oceanic Department of the Ethnological Museum in Berlin, moving to the Indian Department in 1902. It is hard to imagine two more contrasting personalities than Grünwedel, and von Le Coq. Obviously their dissimilarity of character would at times have produced moments of tension, but to judge from the enterprise shown by von Le Coq and its results, we must commend the commission for having chosen the right counterpart to Grünwedel.

Von Le Coq, accompanied by the factotum Bartus (who was the only one to take part in all four German expeditions), arrived in Turfan in November 1904. This expedition was regarded as a preparatory one. The team intended to join forces with the main expedition, led by Grünwedel, which was due to

arrive in the course of the following year. The area under investigation was again the ruined city near Karakhoja, designated Idiqutsahri by Grünwedel and Chotscho (Khocho) by von Le Coq. For three months von Le Coq and Bartus methodically investigated the ruins at this site. Letters from this period reveal disappointment with the results and, on terminating his stay in Khocho, Le Coq was less than satisfied with the scant results of his work. Nevertheless, as he continued to sketch and make a systematic inventory of the temple complexes, he discovered many important manuscripts. These contained more than twenty-four scripts, and the texts were written in seventeen languages, some of them entirely unknown at that time. The philologists in Berlin were faced with the difficult task of deciphering them. There were not only Buddhist texts but also those pertaining to other religions. Special interest was aroused by the discovery of sacred writings of the Manichaeans, until then thought to have been lost without trace. Among them are pages from illustrated books that are the first pictorial records we possess of this religious community. Faded wall paintings were also salvaged from a Nestorian temple. These are the only surviving Nestorian works of art from this region.

In March 1905, von Le Coq broke off the work in Khocho and directed his attention to the temple complex of Sengim and Bezeklik, near Murtuk, and Toyuk to the north of Karakhoja. Here they found not only conventional buildings, but also cave temples. These were carved into the soft stone, and in the Sengim gorge the addition of a projecting portico of brick or wood made the structure into what one could call a "cave temple". Bezeklik proved to be a lucky find; not only were many of the caves structurally intact but the wall paintings were also well preserved. In the various groups of caves, paintings of different styles testify to the continuous activity of Buddhist monks over a long period of time. Bartus, the experienced handyman, was able to rescue numerous murals from these temples. Dispatched to Berlin, they soon became the objects of scientific study and publication. It is a tragedy that a number of the larger paintings from these temples, once removed from the reach of local vandals, were then destroyed when bombs fell on the Ethnological Museum in Berlin during World War II. Large-scale reproductions of these murals are, however, contained in von Le Coq's book *Chotscho* (Le Coq 1913).

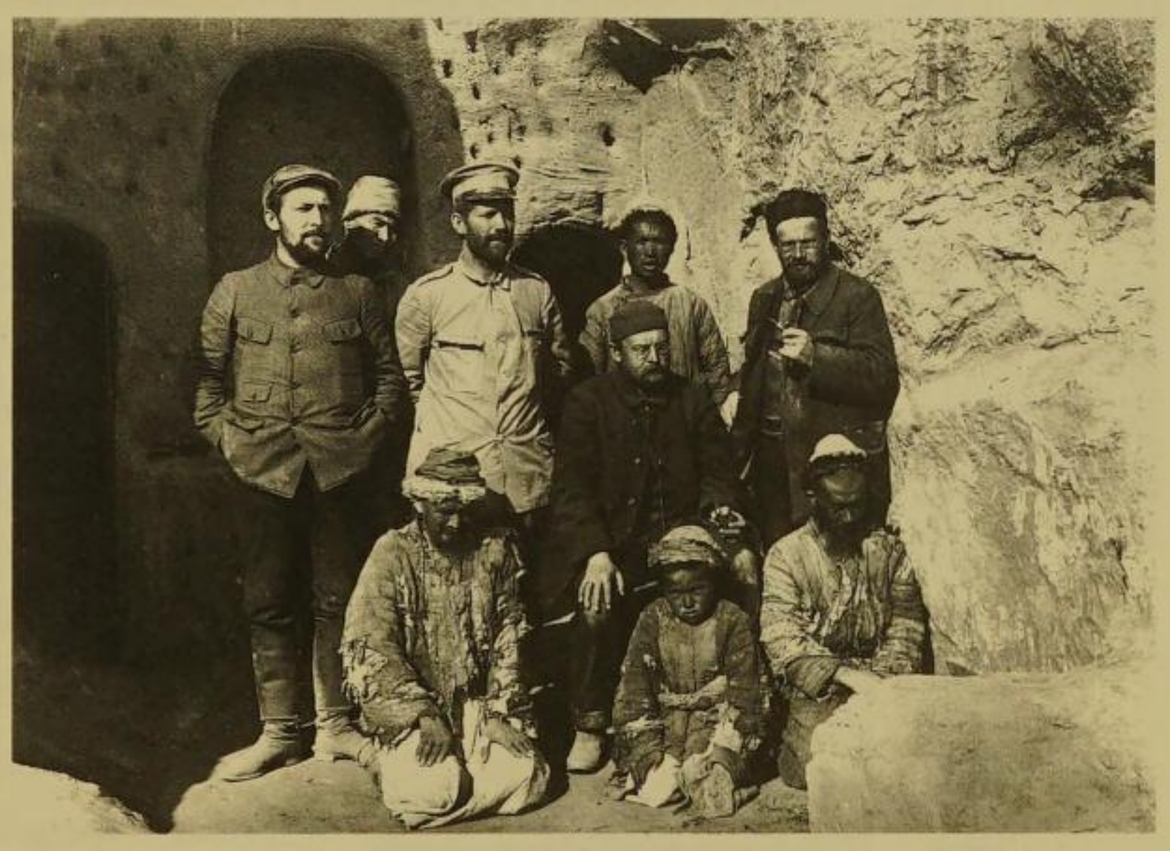


Fig. 6 Members of 2nd and 3rd expeditions at Kizil, Cave of the 16 Sword Bearers. Standing from left to right: Pohut, Bartus, von Le Coq Sitting: Grünwedel

In August 1905, von Le Coq retreated to a cooler region in order to escape the scorching heat. Komul (Hāmi) is higher in the eastern foothills and reached by crossing the inhospitable fringes of the Gobi desert. There, too, he searched for ancient ruins, but climatic conditions seem to have been much less favourable for the preservation of buildings and works of art than in the Turfan oasis. As von Le Coq's remarks on the investigation of two Buddhist temples indicate: "We promptly got down to work, but found to our dismay that the snowfalls frequent here in the foothills had made the earth so moist that the sculptures and other relics that we found buried, and there were plenty of them, had lost all shape and form". However, there was no time for a lengthy stay in Komul, since a telegram from Berlin brought the news that Grünwedel had decided to travel to Turkestan and wished to be met in Kashgar. Since Grünwedel's arrival in Kashgar was announced for 15 October 1905, von Le Coq and Bartus broke camp without delay. They rode back to Turfan, and marched at top speed via Kurla to Kucha, whence they proceeded after a short rest via Aksu to Kashgar, arriving shortly before 15 October. There, to their bitter

disappointment, they learnt that Grünwedel had lost his baggage in Russian Turkestan, and that they must wait weeks for his rescheduled arrival in Kashgar on 5 December. It was Grünwedel's arrival that marked the start of the third expedition (December 1905 - April 1906).

It was not entirely Grünwedel's fault that he was late in reaching Kashgar. In 1905, following a report by von Le Coq on Russian interference in Turfan, a heated exchange of letters had taken place between Berlin and St. Petersburg. This resulted in such a cooling of the hitherto friendly relations between the two parties that Grünwedel decided to travel to Central Asia via India rather than through Russia. However, the funds allocated for the main, that is, the third, expedition were not to be made available until the end of May 1905, several months later. A considerable sum also had to be deducted therefrom and sent off to resolve financial problems that had arisen as a result of the second expedition. Grünwedel was therefore forced to change his plans and travel, however reluctantly, by way of Russia. In St. Petersburg, gentleman that he was, he sought to reach agreement with his Russian colleagues on the areas to be excavated, although it soon became clear that he was the only one who respected the role of St. Petersburg as the international coordination centre - not even the Russians kept to the rules. Grünwedel was also probably alone in thinking it only fair to consult his colleagues. However, Grünwedel still seems to have obtained approval from the Russian committee for his plan to study the Kucha region as well as the Turfan oasis. His conscientiousness as a researcher is also documented in all his reports. He can indeed be described as one of the most painstaking, and scientifically orientated, archaeologists to work in Central Asia, since for Grünwedel, drawing, measuring, and photographing took precedence over the collection of finds. Grünwedel's second great report, entitled *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan* (1912), is evidence of his thoroughness as an archaeologist. The photographic archive of the Berlin expeditions to Turfan, which still exists today, is unsurpassed in the wealth of valuable material it contains and is still regularly consulted by numerous specialists.

Fig. 7 View from a monk's cell, overlooking the Muzart River at Kizil

Fig. 8 Wall painting depicting Mahākāśyapa, Kizil

After Grünwedel's late arrival due to the delays experienced in Russia, the expedition spent a short time investigating Tumshuk (where a few months later the first French expedition to Central Asia under Paul Pelliot started work), and then set off for Kucha. The team worked for nearly four months in the environs of the city; first in Kumtura, a small site to the west of Kucha, near which there was an extensive complex of ancient Buddhist cave temples, and then in Kizil, like Kumtura situated on the Muzart River, where a multitude of Buddhist temples were found hewn into the mountain sides. The local name for this site, Ming-oi ("1,000 cells" or "chambers"), obviously referred to a vague figure of great magnitude. This work was also crowned with success. The wall paintings in many caves exemplified quite a different style, they were more "western" and older than those in the Turfan oasis. In the case of Kumtura, the Buddhist murals were stylistically more Chinese, both in treatment of form and in the use of colour. This is in sharp contrast to Kizil and other nearby sites, and points to the fact that Kumtura, unlike Kizil with its more "western" style, had undergone a series of cultural changes, most probably brought about by Chinese invasion and occupation which affected even the Buddhist monasteries.

In view of the great number of caves, it was necessary to devise a scheme of identification: it was decided not to number them, but to give them names suggestive of their distinguishing characteristics. Thus, for example, we have the Cave of the Sixteen Sword Bearers, named for the groups of knights painted on its walls; the Rock Cave, so called because a great block of stone fell in front of the entrance during exploration, narrowly missing von Le Coq; the Cave of the Seafarers, alluding to the seafaring legends illustrated therein; and the Cave of the Red Dome. In the last of these a particularly interesting find was made, namely, the remains of a library of very old manuscripts on palm leaf, birch bark and paper, together with inscribed wooden tablets. This cave was also the source of leaves from an old Sanskrit manuscript, which is the oldest Indian manuscript ever found.

In May 1906 the expedition transferred its attention further eastwards to the site of Shorchuk near Karashahr. Here the most interesting finds were clay figures, mostly of Buddhist deities. These had peculiarly rotund faces, and were clearly designed to fit into niches since the backs of the figures were left unmodelled. At the end of June 1906, an illness of increasing severity made it impossible for von Le Coq to continue. At about this time, the team also heard that Aurel Stein was on his way to Turfan and that Pelliot had left Paris for Central Asia. Von Le Coq told Grünwedel that he should immediately head for Turfan, while he himself returned to Kashgar and began the hazardous journey to India across the Karakorum mountains.

Fig. 9 Remains of a standing Buddha, Sorchuk

Grünwedel and Bartus continued to work in Khocho and Komul well into the year 1907. Numerous crates were packed with fragments of wall paintings, Buddhist figures of clay, wood, and bronze, paintings on cloth and paper, and a quantity of manuscripts, and dispatched to Berlin. In spite of the worsening political situation, the finds were sent by way of Russia. Grünwedel and his colleagues travelled home in May 1907 via Ürümqi and Semipalatinsk.

The wealth of material that had now accumulated in the so-called Turfan collection in Berlin was enough to occupy the experts and museum staff for some time. It is therefore no wonder that six years elapsed before the fourth German expedition to Central Asia (June 1913-February 1914) was fitted out. In 1912, while both von Le Coq and Stein were planning new expeditions, the political situation in Chinese Turkestan became so precarious that the Foreign Office in Berlin advised postponing the departure of the German team. The German envoy in Peking had in fact been informed that "the Chinese Government considers the situation in Chinese Turkestan at the moment to be so unsettled that it can accept no responsibility for the safety of members of the expedition". As a result, the Foreign Office would give its permission only if von Le Coq expressly declared that he was embarking on the expedition at his own risk. Both he and Bartus signed such a declaration and departed on 31 March 1913 for Kashgar by way of Russia. Their main goal was the further exploration of the area around Kucha visited by the third expedition. They worked there from June to September 1913, discovering the Peacock Cave, the Cave of the Ring Bearing Doves, and the Cave of the Sixteen Sword Bearers as well as Buddhist temples of outstanding architectural and artistic importance. During this period excursions were undertaken to Aciqilek and Subāśi Langar, before the scene of operations was transferred for a few weeks to Kirish fifteen miles northeast of Kucha. Few cave temples were found at this location, but some, when cleared of debris, revealed unusual architectural floor plans and details.

The fourth expedition also visited Kumtura, where excavation of the previously discovered caves with Chinese-style paintings continued until November. From December 1913 to mid-January 1914 the subject of their investigations was Tumshuk. Numerous crates of finds were packed under extremely difficult conditions, and in March 1914 von Le Coq and Bartus left Kashgar to head back to Berlin via Russia.

This expedition encountered a very different state of affairs: disturbances had put the local inhabitants on their guard and cooled the hospitality they had shown to members of previous expeditions. Von Le Coq gives a detailed account of the situation in a book written for the general public, *Von Land und Leuten in Östturkistan* (Le Coq 1928). Here we read that in September 1913, Macartney, the Consul-General, sent a telegram warning him that fresh disturbances had broken out in Kashgar, and advising him to retreat to Russian territory. Von Le Coq also tells of an attempt to murder Bartus in the night, which was foiled only by the latter's alertness. There was evidently an almost complete breakdown of law and order in Chinese Turkestan at this time, making it a near miracle that the crates of finds dispatched via Russia arrived undamaged in Berlin at the end of May 1914.

This was the last German expedition.

In 1926, twelve years after the conclusion of the German expeditions, a permanent exhibition of the Turfan finds was opened in the Ethnological Museum in Berlin. In 1928, the display area for these objects was extended, so that it was possible to show in no less than twenty-seven huge rooms a great number of the finds, and to provide visitors with a comprehensive survey of the rich material from archaeological sites along the northern Silk Road. The large frescoes from Bezeklik depicting the famous *praṇidhi* scenes, were securely mounted on the walls, at least for the time being.

However, by 1938, shortly before the outbreak of World War II, the most important and smaller objects were already being packed into boxes. With the increasing risk of air raids it was decided to move the Turfan frescoes and sculptures to less dangerous places, such as bunkers in Berlin or western German salt mines. Almost one thousand boxes were packed, one hundred and fifty of them containing artefacts from Turfan. Museum staff did not dare to remove the huge *praṇidhi* murals from the walls so these were secured by sand bags. This form of protection nevertheless proved inadequate and the Bezeklik murals were badly damaged when the museum was bombed seven times between 23 November 1943 and 15 January 1945. On 3 February 1945 the building was completely destroyed, the paintings were ruined, and seventy other wall paintings suffered partial damage. During rescue work at the end of the war it was, however, possible to salvage fragments of the wall paintings and sculptures. Fortunately, Grünwedel, von Le Coq and Bartus were not forced to witness this tragedy since all had died long before the destruction began.

In the spring of 1956, the remaining objects from the Turfan collection, removed for safekeeping to several locations across Germany, could be brought back to the Museum Dahlem where new exhibition rooms were planned. In 1971, the new building for the three Asian art museums, the Museum of Indian Art, the Museum of Far Eastern Art and the Museum of Islamic Art was inaugurated. In addition to objects from India and Southeast Asia, almost two hundred paintings, sculptures and textiles from Central Asia are now on show in the permanent exhibition.

柏林印度藝術博物館收藏史

Marianne Yaldiz

印度藝術博物館始建於一九六三年，它是柏林達勒慕地區 (Berlin-Dahlem) 三座亞洲藝術館之一。現在的館址於一九七一年建成，包括印度藝術博物館、遠東博物館和伊斯蘭藝術博物館。

印度藝術博物館共有藏品15000件，其中的600件是經常展出的，大約200件繪畫、雕塑和絲織品是來自中亞。這些藏品原先是印度部主任格倫威德爾(Albert Grünwedel) 為民族博物館收藏的。德國共有四次絲綢之路的探險活動；從一九零二到一九一四年，Grünwedel策劃其中的三次。在博物館同事勒柯克(von Le Coq)和 Bartus 的幫助下，他們考察了絲綢之路北線多個遺址，在吐魯番(Turfan)、庫車(Kucha)，以及哈密(Hami)附近的遺址進行發掘。 很多文物被帶回柏林作進一步研究，包括裝在板條箱裏的壁畫、絹帛和紙質的繪畫，版畫，青銅器，土質或木質塑像，景教和摩尼教文物，以及那些用我們認識和不認識的語言所書寫的古文獻。到一九二八年，這類文物已經堆滿了博物館的二十七個房間。除了伯孜克里克 (Bezeklik) 的壁畫外，這些文物均在第二次世界大戰期間被移出柏林。除壁畫外，其他文物至今都保存完好，並已安全地回到博物館。

博物館曾於一九六六至一九七四年間，在印度的 Sonkh 進行發掘；當時所得的文物與 Grünwedel 和 von Le Coq 的搜集，以及那些在更早時期收集的藝術品，現已成為最具吸引力的藏品。博物館的藏品還包括從摩亨佐達羅 (Mohenjodāro) 出土而未能釋讀的滑石印，以及從喀什米爾(Kashmir)、泰米爾納德(Tamilnadu)、拉賈斯坦(Rajasthan)和奧里薩(Orissa)等地區發現的石質或青銅雕像，它們反映了佛教、印度教和耆那教三大宗教的藝術風格。此外，參觀者還可欣賞到印度的象牙器、玉器、木刻品、小塑像，以及東南亞、西藏和尼泊爾的藝術品。這些展品是按照它們的藝術形式展出的，而不依年代的先後來佈置。

Ten Years of Research in the Art of Gandhara, 1987-1997

Maurizio Taddei

Our knowledge of Gandhāran art in the second half of the 20th century was deeply influenced by the enormous quantity of chance discoveries and planned excavations that took place in Pakistan (and in Afghanistan) from the end of the 1950s to the present day. We all know what the catalogue of the sculptures from Butkāra has meant to Gandhāran studies. It is only to be regretted that a systematic study of those sculptures has not yet seen the light. Nevertheless, the Italian Archaeological Mission in Swat has already produced an admirable set of reports on the excavations at Butkāra I, Panṛ and Saidu Sharif. The reports on the Panṛ excavations (Faccenna *et al.* 1993) provide us with an extremely clear and detailed description of the stratigraphy and monuments of a sacred area which is dated – on the basis of coin finds – to a period from the mid 1st century CE through the 5th century. When the sculptures from Panṛ are published in the near future, a general picture will be available of an interesting and markedly individual artistic centre.

The same will be true of the Saidu Sharif excavations (Callieri 1989; Faccenna 1995). It should be emphasised that Dr Faccenna was able to establish a comparative sequence for the architecture of the three sites – Butkāra I, Panr and Saidu Sharif – which provide very useful grounds for further research and a sound chronological framework within which other sites and monuments can find their place.

In this review I shall, nevertheless, only deal with Gandhāran sculptures and leave aside studies discussing the development of architecture and building technique. Only a few words will be included in relation to the study of the architectural details – a study that has been brought by Faccenna to a high degree of sophistication, not only in the above mentioned reports, but also in special contributions published in various journals in Italy and Pakistan. It will suffice to mention a paper dealing with the "composite" Gandhāran capital (Faccenna 1991), and that analysing the structure of a *chhattrāvalī* from Butkāra I (Faccenna 1994), a masterpiece of its kind. To Faccenna's contributions should be added that by Sh. R. Pidaev (1996), which deals with some architectural details in friezes from Termez that reveal many similarities with early Gandhāran production, especially from Swat.

The great demand for Gandhāran sculptures in the antique markets of Europe, America and Japan has created a dangerous stimulus to illegal digging in Pakistan. The consequent loss of precious finds to both the country and the international scientific community can only be compared to what has happened in Afghanistan in the last decade as a result of the political and military situation. The government of Pakistan has therefore been induced to undertake 'rescue excavations' that have secured many beautiful sculptures now kept in museums and storehouses – unfortunately the lack of stratigraphic accuracy in the excavations too often makes any scientific use of the material almost impossible.

Nevertheless, we have to appreciate the great effort displayed in publishing preliminary reports – on the excavations at Shnaisha Baligram, and Swat (Qamar and Ashraf Khan 1991; Abdur Rahman 1993; see Taddei 1998), at Garh Mauryan, Hazara District (Qamar 1990), and, more recently, at Marjanai, Swat, within the framework of a Gandhāra Archaeological Project (Shah Nazar Khan 1995).

Only preliminary reports have been published on other excavations not undertaken under any pressure from illegal digging, for example, Butkāra III is known to us thanks to a brief report published twice (Abdur Rahman 1990, 1991), although more detailed studies of the Gandhāran material have now

begun to appear (Swati 1997b).

In addition to excavations, the Department of Archaeology of Pakistan has undertaken the very useful work of reconnaissance, which is summarised in a precious volume edited by Saeed-ur-Rehman (1996); other institutions have also co-operated in this work of documentation (e.g., Swati 1997c).

Reconnaissance and excavation were the target of the Kyoto University Scientific Mission to Gandhāra, which conducted excavations at Ranighat, a Buddhist site near Swabi. A rather disappointing preliminary report in Japanese and English (Nishikawa *et al.* 1988) has now been followed by a much larger photographic album; the relevant text is forthcoming.

The documentation of archaeological activities at some Gandhāran sites in Afghanistan is being published by the former Director General of the Afghan Institute of Archaeology, Dr Zémaryala Tarzi. His most recently published report deals with Tapa-e Top-e Kalân at Haḍḍa (Tarzi 1990), but he has also prepared an exhaustive report on the Haḍḍa excavations, which was his PhD dissertation at the University of Strassburg (1991); when published, it will be a landmark for all scholars working in this field. It is sad to see how careful Tarzi was, not only in digging but also in conservation (Tarzi 1997), only to have the efforts expended during the years of his directorship (1973-79) made vain by later events – Afghan artefacts are now in danger of being lost due to the chaotic conditions in the area.

The publication of Tarzi's excavations at Haḍḍa (near Jalālābād) will provide an extremely important set of comparisons and references that may help in understanding the still somewhat obscure links between Gandhāran art *stricto sensu* and the Hellenised sculpture from the regions beyond the Oxus (Amu-darya). Among the most recent publications related to this little-known production, I would like to mention those by Galina Pugachenkova on the sculptures from Ayrtam (Pugachenkova 1991-92), and Boris Stavisky on the diffusion of Buddhism in Central Asia (Stavisky 1993-94) and the connections between Bactria and Gandhāra (Stavisky 1997).

Finding Gandhāran sculptures in settlement areas is even more important than collecting large quantities of reliefs from a sacred site, since settlement areas are usually richer in chronological evidence. This is why the presence of two Bodhisattva images at Barikot (Swat) in a layer datable to the mid 2nd to late 3rd century (Callieri *et al.* 1992, 35, pl. XVIII 1-2) provides a safe chronological link for dating stylistically cognate images from other sites in Swat.

Among museum catalogues and those of other collections, Zwalf's catalogue of the Gandhāran art in the British Museum occupies the foremost position (Zwalf 1996). This is not the usual kind of catalogue since its introductory chapters (pp 11-76) are a true *vade mecum* for the student of Gandhāran art – succinct, well-balanced, highly informative, and certainly the most up-to-date exposition of the subject. Another very good catalogue (with a pithy introduction that is also a remarkable essay on Buddhism in Gandhāra) of the collection of the Civico Museo Archeologico in Milan has been prepared by Giovanni Verardi. Although this has been printed (Verardi 1991), however, the catalogue remains practically inaccessible because of an unfortunate distribution problem.

The most recent handbook is that by Mario Bussagli, first published in Italian in 1984 but now available in an improved French translation (Bussagli 1996). This is perhaps the best historical introduction to Gandhāran art, although in most instances the author ignores the Indian contribution, and Buddhism itself appears not to be understood in all its aspects. The handbook also contains a great many penetrating observations on stylistic analysis, which, although somewhat far-fetched (see Taddei 1988-89, on the problem of the so-called "rotating perspective"), makes it a great stimulus to further research.

The two beautifully produced volumes by Isao Kurita (1988, 1990) constitute an album of photographs from museums and private collections, many reproduced for the first time, accompanied by

a short Japanese text. Inaccuracies abound in the captions.

There was considerable delay in publishing Lolita Nehru's (1989) book on the "origins" of the Gandhāran style, originally a PhD dissertation, so that it fails to take account of works published between 1982 and 1989. The author rightly sees the formation of Gandhāran art not so much in terms of "influences", but rather as original development soundly based on the Hellenistic tradition present in Bactrian culture. She also devotes much attention to the differences between the Hellenistic and Indian approaches to the representation of space and time.

This topic was later discussed by Vidya Dehejia (1990, 1997), who takes into consideration the narrative structure in both Indian and Gandhāran art. In Dehejia's opinion, what she terms "static monoscenic narrative" appears to prevail in Gandhāran friezes, even though the various panels depict the episodes of the Buddha's life according to different modes – a "conflated narrative" and a "static monoscenic" narrative can be found in the same frieze. According to Dehejia, this eventually leads to an epiphanic presentation of the scenes.

Dehejia also deals with the comparatively rare mode of continuous narrative, reserved almost exclusively in Gandhāran art for *jātaka* stories on *stūpa* stair-risers, and other sequential narratives. Surprisingly, she appears to underestimate the latter, which in my opinion are the most original contribution made by the Gandhāran artists. Although the study of the various modes of narration identified by Professor Dehejia within single panels provides a useful tool for understanding the religious message conveyed by Gandhāran art (e.g., the Sikri *stūpa* in the Lahore Museum, which is seen by Dehejia as the most typical example although it is a rather late, presumably 3rd century, monument), it is in the strictly chronological sequence of the episodes depicted that Gandhāran art (in friezes other than that of the Sikri *stūpa*) introduces a narrative structure unknown to both India and the Hellenistic world (Taddei 1993, 1995). It is in Gandhāra that for the first time artists entrusted the religious message to the dimension of human life, and an interesting parallel to this can be found in contemporaneous literary narratives, such as the *Buddhacarita* by Aśvaghoṣa (Taddei, forthcoming).

During the last decade there have been several exhibitions incorporating Gandhāran sections. It is not necessary to list them all, but at least two deserve special mention. These are the exhibition "The Crossroads of Asia: Transformation in Image and Symbol", held at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge in 1992 (Errington and Cribb 1992), and *Buddha in Indien*, organised by the Kunsthistorisches Museum at the Künstlerhaus, Vienna (Klimburg-Salter 1995). The latter is also particularly noteworthy for the care taken by the organisers to secure specimens of early Gandhāran art from Swat, too often absent in other exhibitions.

A few words should be said on the technique of sculpture, especially in stucco and clay. A book by K.M. Varma (1987) is rich in important observations but it is advisable to read it cautiously. The best overall picture is provided in a paper by Z. Tarzi which is dated 1986 but was certainly not published earlier than 1988 (Tarzi 1986, in which the author also criticises Varma 1987!). This is a precious collection of first-hand information accompanied by a very rich series of comparisons, including those from far-flung areas, and a soundly grounded discussion of the techniques used for producing clay and stucco images in both Gandhāran and post-Gandhāran art.

In terms of stone sculptural techniques, we would not disregard the very informative paper by D. Faccenna (1997a) on unfinished sculptures, sketches, and other trial pieces. Some forty pithy pages of technical analysis (copper/bronze, silver, gold, stone) are appended to the catalogue of the "Crossroads of Asia" exhibition held in Cambridge (Errington and Cribb 1992). To this should now be added a paper by Ch. L. Reedy, read at the symposium that took place in conjunction with the same exhibition (Reedy 1997).

Excavations in the archives of museums and institutions both in England and on the subcontinent are often extremely rewarding. Systematic research has led Elisabeth Errington to a safe reconstruction of the site provenances of many Gandhāran images now in museums in Pakistan and elsewhere. Her PhD dissertation on the finds of Jamālgārḥi (SOAS, University of London) is unfortunately still unpublished, but her few papers on the subject are really promising – suffice it to quote four: Errington 1987, 1990, 1991, 1997. To these should also be added contributions by Francine Tissot on Sahri-Bahlol (Tissot 1989, 1990, 1994), and the very recent and revolutionary contribution by Shoshin Kuwayama on Shah-ji-ki Dheri (Kuwayama 1997).

It would be highly desirable if some reconstructions of *stupas* in various museums were submitted to serious critical revision. Although the author could not attain any certainty regarding the original sequence of the scenes, one should mention with praise the attempt made by Ms. Umera Alam (1994) in reconsidering the Sikri *stūpa*.

No real turning point has been reached in the study of the stylistic development of Gandhāran art since the contribution by J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw in *South Asian Archaeology 1979* (Berlin 1981). Nevertheless, we can now avail ourselves of the very good paper by Chantal Fabrègues (1987), who will soon also publish her PhD dissertation (SOAS, University of London, 1992) on the jewellery depicted on Gandhāran images (on this particular topic, see also Schmidt 1997). A summary of the debate on chronology is to be found in the new British Museum catalogue (Zwalf 1996, pp 69-72), but the stratigraphical analysis of Butkāra I by Faccenna still remains the main reference for the chronology of early Gandhāran art.

The fact evinced by Faccenna and the late Joan van Lohuizen that a particular group of sculptures from Swat (showing in my opinion close links with Indian art of the Śuṇga and post-Śuṇga period) represents the earliest Gandhāran production, is now almost universally accepted; a good reassessment of the evidence is now available in a paper read in Cambridge in 1992 (Carter 1997). Mohammad Farooq Swati's PhD thesis (University of Cambridge, 1996) is still unpublished, but some of his research findings have been included in a recent paper (Swati 1997a). Swati accepts van Lohuizen's suggestion and attempts to analyse the Gandhāran production of Swat in connection with the so-called "Scytho-Parthian Phase" of Buddhist art at Taxila (usually considered to be the "beginning" of Gandharan art, but in Swati's opinion later than the earliest reliefs from Swat). His assumption that this early production of Swat might be even earlier than Aï Khanūm is groundless.

In a wider geographical context, including present-day Pakistan and Afghanistan as well as the regions beyond the Oxus, further chronological evidence is expected from the proceedings of the symposium "Weihrauch und Seide: Münzen, Kunst und Chronologie", held in Vienna in 1996.

For the time being, an exceptionally good summary of the numismatic and epigraphic evidence for the chronology of Gandhāran art (especially the early period) is a paper read by Gérard Fussman at a symposium held in Berlin in 1986 (Fussman 1987).

Recent papers on Gandhāran iconography are so numerous that it is impossible to list all of them in these few pages. We should, nevertheless, recall the general topics that are most frequently dealt with: 1. New interpretations of narrative scenes in friezes; 2. Analysis of particular characters in various contexts (narrative and epiphanic); 3. Analysis of objects, gestures and/or other significant details displayed in scenes of the Buddha's life, etc.; 4. Study of the epiphanic Buddhist representations; 5. Study of non-Buddhist images in Gandhāran style.

1. Of the new interpretations of Buddhist narrative scenes, one should mention the paper by Pia Brancaccio on the Buddha and the naked ascetics (Brancaccio 1991), in which the author analyses the

well-known panel from Sikri in the National Museum, Karachi, interpreted by A. Foucher as representing the clash between Sumāgadhā and the naked ascetics. Brancaccio reaches the conclusion that the Sikri panel and other cognate examples depict the meeting between the Tathāgata and the naked ascetic Paṭikaputta, as narrated in the *Paṭika Suttānta* of the *Dīghanikāya*. Criticism by Professor Dieter Schlingloff (1991) and Dr. Brancaccio's rejoinder (1994) have added much important evidence to the study of this peculiar iconography.

Other important papers have also improved our understanding of the various scenes depicted in friezes, although they have hardly modified our overall perception of the Buddhist art of Gandhara. I shall therefore limit myself to mentioning the above since they represent a discussion between two scholars.

2. The Gandhāran image of the Tathāgata still calls for more thorough investigation.

The solar disc, the Buddha with his head hidden by flames, and other cognate subjects are discussed in various papers, but of these it is sufficient to mention those by Verardi (1988) and Quagliotti (1991-92).

A somewhat related topic has been discussed by Deborah Klimburg-Salter and M. Taddei (1991) who have brought to scholars' attention the fact that some images of the (starving) Tathāgata have a hole in the centre of the *uṣṇīsa*, presumably a representation of the energy liberated during the *yoga* practices.

The most up-to-date analysis of the unusual details on the heads of Gandhāran Bodhisattvas, such as a crescent and a *nandyāvarta*, is that by Anna Maria Quagliotti (1994). An unpublished doctoral thesis by C. Woodford Schmidt ("Bodhisattva Headdresses and Hair Styles in the Buddhist Art of Gandhāra and Related Regions of Swat and Afghanistan", Ohio State University, 1990) should also be taken into consideration.

Vajrapāṇi and his close affinities with Herakles have been studied by F. B. Flood (1989) who believes that although the position occupied by Vajrapāṇi in early Buddhist thought is somewhat unclear, the figure appears to be connected with the Zoroastrian concept of the Fravashi. Nevertheless, in Flood's opinion, Vajrapāṇi is not to be identified as merely an Indian manifestation of the Fravashi, but rather as "a personification of the force of the *dharma*", whose function has a clear relationship to the figure of Herakles in the Hellenistic world. A very good study of the same subject, in which the "function" of Vajrapāṇi in connection with Herakles is opportunely stressed, was published by Arcangela Santoro (1991).

A fresh subject – Viśvakarman, the "architect of the universe" – has been investigated by Katsumi Tanabe who takes into consideration both Gandhāran iconography and the evidence from coins (Tanabe 1995-96).

3. A paper by Giuseppe De Marco (De Marco 1987) analyses a group of Gandhāran reliefs that depict various types of funerary monuments, some *stūpa*-like in appearance. This is a very important contribution to our understanding of the meaning of the *stūpa* from both a doctrinal and an ethnological perspective.

G. Verardi has shown how the representations of "fire-altars" in Gandhāran reliefs should be conveniently referred to the Indian world rather than thinking of Iranian influences (Verardi 1987). He has again investigated Buddhist fire rituals in a strongly polemical and sometimes eccentric, although always thought-provoking, booklet on *homa* (Verardi 1994).

An attempt to interpret the "pensive" Bodhisattva figures is found in a paper by Junghee Lee (Lee 1993) which deals with a variety of representations from India (including Gandhāra) to Japan. To this contribution one should add two by A. M. Quagliotti (1989, 1996a), more specifically related to Gandhāra.

4. The most important turning point in the interpretation of the Mohammad Nari stele in the Lahore Museum and cognate reliefs (the "Miracle of Sravasti", according to Foucher) is still represented by a 1980 article by John Huntington, in whose opinion the Mohammad Nari stele represents the Sukhāvatī Paradise. Notwithstanding the serious objections raised by G. Schopen and R. L. Brown, the hypothesis proposed by Huntington is still the subject of a discussion that goes far beyond the scope of the present review; for a summary and some interesting observations the reader is referred to a very recent article by Quagliotti (1996b).

Epiphanic representations in Gandhāra (and beyond) have also been discussed by, among others, Anna Filigenzi in an unpublished PhD thesis ("Le immagini epifaniche nell'arte buddhistica del Gandhāra. Studio sulle triadi e su alcune iconografie affini", Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples, 1990), and by Ju-hyung Rhi, also in a doctoral dissertation ("Gandhāran Images of the Śrāvastī Miracle: An Iconographic Reassessment", University of California, Berkeley, 1991).

5. The representations of non-Buddhist deities always provide a wide scope for study and discussion. Needless to say, one should separate the genuinely non-Buddhist (e.g., Śaiva) images from those of deities somehow accepted by Buddhism, although in a subordinate position. Both these types of images are nevertheless precious evidence of the various degrees of syncretism to be found throughout the Gandhāran period, from early specimens such as the already well-known niche-jamb from Butkāra I, recently reconsidered by Gherardo Gnoli (1992), to images such as that from the Pontecorvo collection (now Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Rome) and a similar image in the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin (Härtel 1989; Lo Muzio 1995-96), to late pieces like the diptych leaf (4th century, in my opinion) in the Cleveland Museum of Art, studied by R. C. Agrawala (1993, 1995).

The presence of the Greek goddess Athena in Gandhāran art has been investigated by Domenico Faccenna (1997b). M. Taddei (1987) has published for the first time or reconsidered several non-Buddhist (and non-Greek) images, some of them included in Buddhist epiphanies, others individual images. Among the former there is one in the Peshawar Museum depicting a seated Bodhisattva from which six divine figures emanate – the author suggests that the explanation is to be found in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, which describes the ability of the Bodhisattva to reveal himself in practically infinite forms in order to convert all sentient beings.

An image of the goddess Śrī in the British Museum (previously misinterpreted) has been identified by G. Fussman (1988) on the basis of a Kharoṣṭhī inscription. The author aptly suggests that the statuette was not part of a Vaiṣṇava shrine, but was presumably placed in a subordinate position in a Buddhist context.

The problem of the identification of the god Wesho depicted on Kuśāṇa coins has given rise to a lively discussion that also involves Gandhāran iconographies. Suffice it to recall the two most recent contributions by Ciro Lo Muzio (Lo Muzio 1995-96) and Joe Cribb (Cribb 1997).

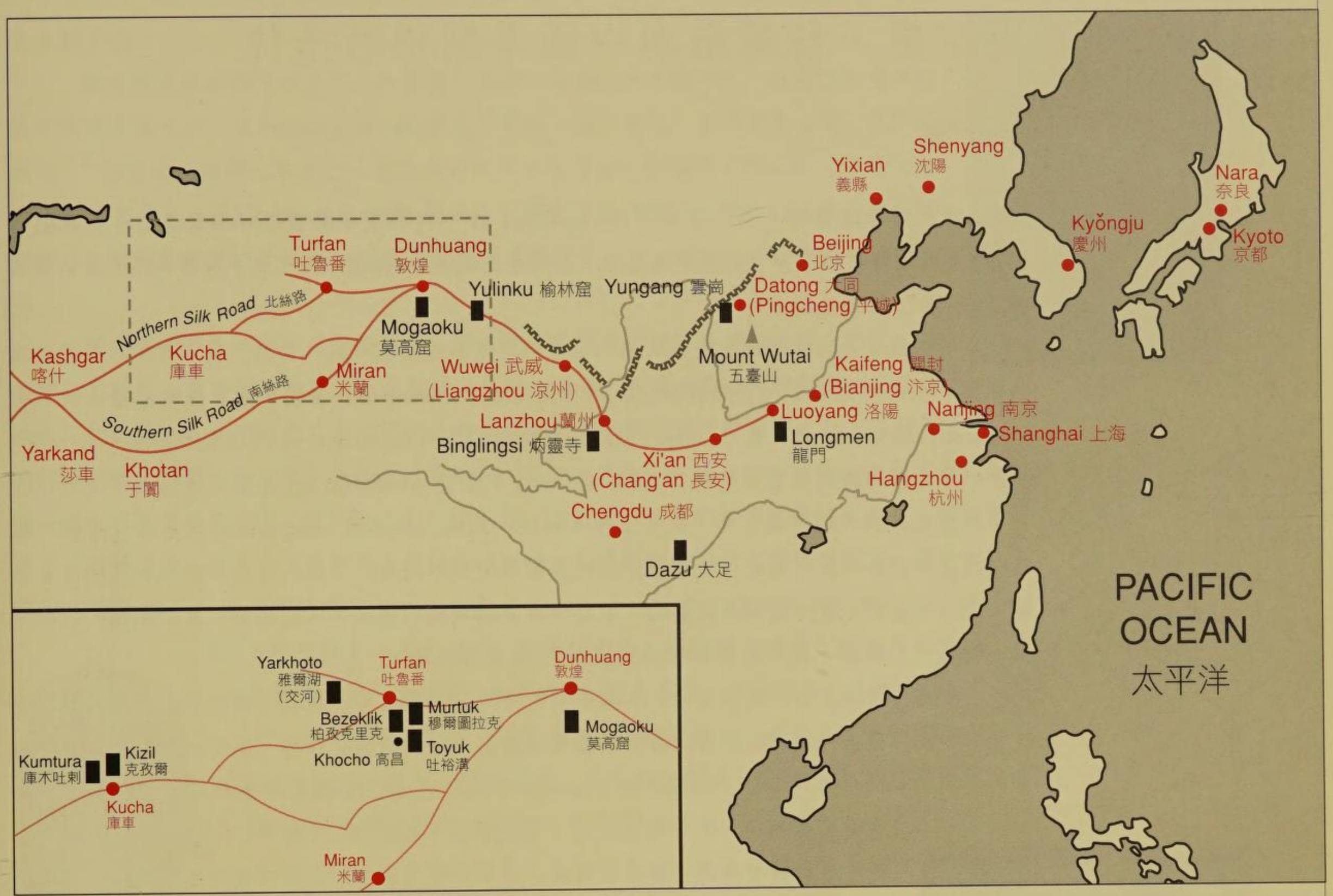
犍陀羅藝術的十載研究

Maurizio Taddei

本文概述在一九八七至一九九七年間有關犍陀羅藝術的研究，並附有一份很有幫助的參考書。文章內容著重意大利考察團在巴基斯坦的工作，特別是在斯瓦特(Swat)地區的考古發掘。目前阿富汗的政治狀況不允許在這地區從事有關的學術研究，但作者對七十年代的一些研究工作作出了介紹。

作者還介紹有關博物館的收藏和展覽的目錄，以及有關犍陀羅藝術研究的重要著作。其它的討論內容包括犍陀羅、印度和希臘敘事方式的比較，犍陀羅雕塑的技術研究，以及相關的博物館藏品和下落不明的出土犍陀羅雕塑。此外，作者還討論到犍陀羅藝術的斷代問題。

至於近年來發表的爭議性研究文章，作者也選擇性地進行了評論，內容包括犍陀羅藝術中的敘事場景，所刻劃的文字 (例如持金剛像)，頓悟時的表象，以及佛教以外的其他造像，這包括 Wesho 及 Kuśāṇa 錢幣上的人物分析。



MAP III Central Asia, China, Korea and Japan

犍陀羅、秣菟羅與中國早期佛教造像

李崇峰

在研究佛教造像時，犍陀羅藝術 (Gandhāra art) 和秣菟羅藝術 (Mathura art) 是我們常常遇到的兩個術語。它們既是兩種不同的藝術流派 (school)，又代表了兩種截然不同的藝術模式 (style)，皆因地而名。

犍陀羅是亞洲古代歷史上的大國。它位於印度和西亞交界處，自公元前六世紀以來就成為各強國之間的拉鋸地帶，曾先後被波斯阿黑美尼德 (Achaemenid) 王朝、馬其頓的亞歷山大大帝 (Alexander the Great) 和孔雀 (Maurya) 王朝的旃陀羅笈多 (Chandragupta) 所征服或控制。公元前 3 世紀中葉，當時新皈依佛教的阿育王 (Aśoka) 派遣末闡提 (Madhyāntika) 到犍陀羅傳教，這可以看作是佛教正式傳入犍陀羅之始。孔雀王朝瓦解後，希臘人和塞種人(Scythians) 又各自主宰犍陀羅的命運達一個多世紀。因此，犍陀羅的文化藝術曾受到了波斯、希臘、印度和中亞文化的多重影響。公元一世紀中葉，貴霜帝國興起。貴霜帝國鼎盛時期的疆域西起齒鹹海，東至蔥嶺，成為中亞一個龐大的帝國，國都富樓沙 (Puruṣapura)，陪都秣菟羅。

貴霜帝國諸王對所統領區域內各種不同的文化和宗教信仰，採取了兼容並包和保護鼓勵的政策。如在宗教上，我們從錢幣上面的鑄像可以看出：印度的濕婆和佛、伊朗祆教的神、希臘的神，早期都受到了崇拜。到了迦膩色迦 (Kaniṣka) 和胡維色迦 (Huviśka) 統治時期，佛教在犍陀羅和貴霜帝國的大部分地區又有了長足發展。在藝術上，東西文化的混合也很明顯。犍陀羅發掘出的建築遺跡和雕刻，大多是希臘藝術形式與佛教主題相結合，呈現出貴霜文化的特殊風格。如，犍陀羅的第三期佛像是犍陀羅藝術史上最著名、最多產的一個階段。這一期的年代一般定在二世紀後半到三世紀前半，主要當在胡維色迦和波蘇提婆 (Vāsudeva) 統治時期。大多數佛像的頭部呈典型的希臘阿波羅式美男子面容，臉型橢圓，五官端正。額部較高，前額髮際線中前伸，頭髮一縷縷呈清晰的波狀向後梳理。眉毛細長、彎曲，眉間雕作白毫。眼窩較深，雙眸微閉，強調沉思內省的精神因素。鼻高直，鼻梁與額頭連成直線。雙唇較薄，嘴角深陷，大多無鬍。頭後圓光簡樸。佛多著通肩大衣，大衣類似古希臘羅馬元老或哲人雕像所披之長方形外衣(Himation)。大衣襞褶交疊、厚重，毛料質感清晰。佛像的全身比例，一般為六位首甚至五位首，顯得短粗低矮。佛像分作立像和坐像兩類。立像頭微前傾，雙腳分開，重心置於左腳，手勢通常為“施無畏印”。坐佛結跏趺坐，手勢多為“禪定印”和“轉法輪印”(圖 1)。

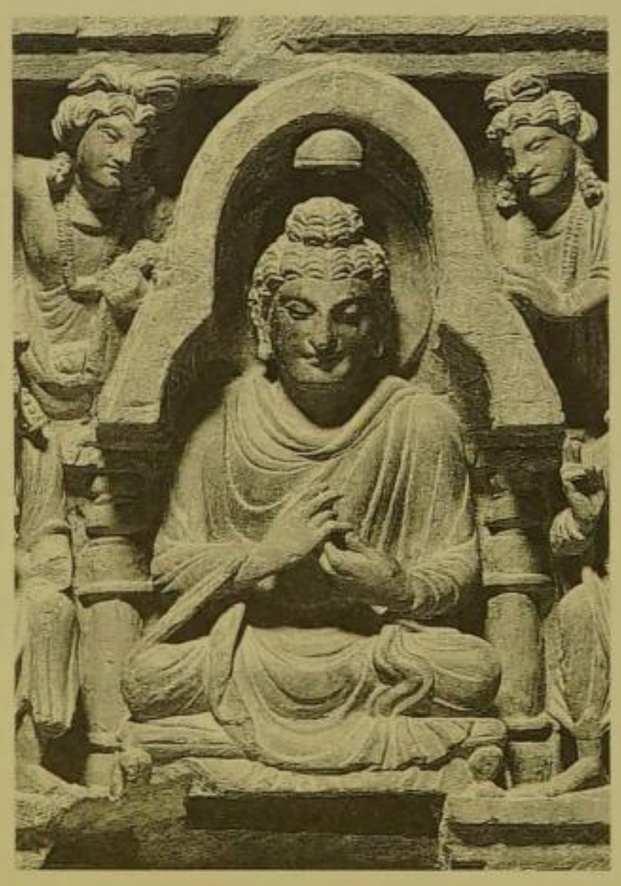


圖 1

秣菟羅曾是公元前六世紀印度古代十六大國之一蘇羅森那(Sūrasena)的首府，後來先後被併入摩揭陀(Magadha)帝國、孔雀王朝、巽伽(Śuṇgas)王朝的版圖之內，再後來又一度落入希臘人和塞種 — 安息人之手。大約在閻膏珍 (Wima Kadphises) 統治期間， 秣菟羅地區被貴霜帝國吞併。作為陪都，它一度成為貴霜帝國的偉大中心。如胡維色迦曾用許多紀念性建築物來美化這座城市，就像迦膩色迦美化首都富樓沙一樣。貴霜帝國最後一位國王波蘇提婆的碑銘，大部分也是在秣菟羅及其附近地區發現的，這進一步證實該地的重要性；而貴霜帝國諸王雕像在秣菟羅的出土，亦從另一方面證明它是貴霜帝國一處舉足輕重的中心。大約在四世紀中葉，秣菟羅被併入笈多帝國版圖。笈多帝國被看作是印度歷史上的黃金時代，在德政方面取得了巨大成就，文學和藝

術達到全盛。

雖然笈多王朝諸王在政治上的霸權只延續到五世紀下半葉不久，但他們所倡導的藝術風格和樣式卻一直保持到公元600年甚至更晚一些。所以，藝術意義上的“笈多王朝時代”所包含的時間比在政治上所認為的期限要長得多。從笈多王朝開始，印度的雕刻進入了古典主義階段(classic phase) 。經過此前若干世紀的努力，當時的藝術技巧已臻於完善，明確的樣式(definite types)有了發展，美的理想(ideals of beauty)被準確地規定下來。

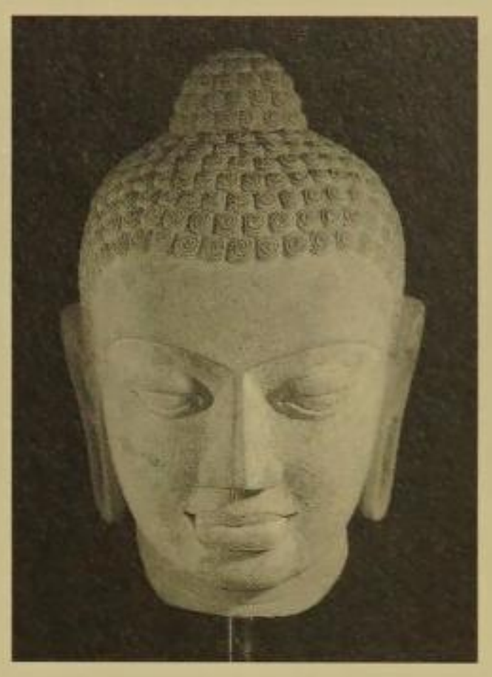


圖 2

笈多藝術最重要的貢獻，是發展了佛教和婆羅門教兩種宗教神祇的完美形式。這些神像呈現出一種美麗的外觀，充滿風韻與尊嚴，具有一種優美的姿態和容光煥發的超越世俗的表情。笈多雕刻是崇高的理想主義與高度發展的和諧美相結合的產物，設計手法頗具氣魄，製作十分精製。在經歷了象徵物、前迦膩色迦、迦膩色迦、胡維色迦和波蘇提婆時期之後，秣菟羅藝術家和工匠所創造的佛教藝術，在四至六世紀的笈多時期達到頂峰。佛像造型健碩，形體漂亮、優美，富有朝氣。造像強調表情，通過面部顯示出人物內在情感，達到肉體與精神和諧的結合。這是當時藝術家成功達到的藝術的最高境界。頭光的裝飾繁複。“旋發紺青”，面相橢圓。眉毛細長，眼睛刻劃得如同半開的蓮芽，脈臉厚重低垂，注入夢想和沉思。鼻高直，鼻翼舒張，嘴角自然、下唇較厚，耳垂拉長。“頸部三折”形同海螺(圖2) 。造像端正，肢體放鬆。以立像為例，一腿微屈，表示一種動感。貼體之輕薄袈裟，好像被水浸濕一樣半透明，隱約透現出全身輪廓; 從雙肩垂下的一道道平行的U字形衣紋，形如水波狀。右手上舉施無畏印，自左手下垂的褶邊，呈兩條平行的波狀自腰部垂至腳部(圖3) 。服飾的半透體處理，進一步暗示出優閑、舒適，與貴霜時期流行的厚重大衣形成對照。在犍陀羅早期佛教雕刻中，服飾採用寫實主義手法表現；而在秣菟羅雕刻中，服飾則按公式化表示，理想的服飾美似乎僅體現在褶的表現形式上。

圖 3

中國與印度的文化交流，源遠流長，史無絕書。東晉南北朝以降，隨著佛教在中土的發展，建寺築塔、開窟造像的風氣逐漸盛行。兩國人民之間在造型藝術領域中的接觸，文獻記載上更是比比皆是。漢明帝“譴使天竺，問其道術而圖其形象”。“(蔡)暗又得佛經《四十二章》及釋迦立像。”法顯412年返國時，亦帶回不少佛教“經像”。六世紀初葉，宋雲、惠生出使西域，曾於犍陀羅“以銅摹寫雀離浮圖儀一軀及釋迦四塔變”。隨著中印文化交流的擴大，南亞僧人持經像來中國者增多。如“太安(455–459年)初，有獅子國沙門邪奢遺多、浮陀難提等五人奉佛像三，到京都。”姚最於天正元年(551年) 完成的《續古畫品錄》，明確記述有三位僧人畫家到了中土。其中的釋迦佛陀，就是天竺人，於北魏時入華，印度僧人和畫家來華，一定會把印度的雕塑和繪畫技藝同時傳入中土。由於佛教傳自域外，所以其造型從題材到技法都必然受到濃厚的外來文化影響。梁代畫家張僧繇接受“天竺遺法”，“善畫塔廟”創建了畫史上著名的“張家樣”。北齊畫家曹仲達在佛教雕塑和繪畫中所創造的“曹家樣”，“其體稠疊，而衣服緊窄”顯然是受到了秣菟羅佛像的啟發，吸收並揉進了中印度因素。因此我們認為，笈多時期的秣菟羅佛像，主要影響了中國早期佛像的造型。

圖 4

現存中國的早期佛像雕塑，年代明確、數量較大的兩處是炳靈寺第169窟和雲岡曇曜五窟。限於篇幅，我們現在僅以這兩處遺跡作為早期佛像雕塑的代表來論述。炳靈寺第169窟因一

圖5

九六三年甘肅省文物工作隊首次登臨並發現了迄今在全國石窟中最早的漢文紀年—西秦“建弘元年”(420年)的題記，從而為研究中國早期石窟寺藝術提供了珍貴的年代學標尺。其中，169窟北壁中間第7號龕內的一鋪造像(圖4)，應完成於420年前後。佛面相方圓、渾厚，五官寬大，眼長，唇厚，鼻梁高直。形體健碩。身著通肩袈裟，全身衣紋作下垂之重環疊襞，表現輕紗透體，顯露出肌膚之變化。右腿微屈，似展示行道之步履。雙手皆殘。自左手垂下的袈裟衣邊，為規整的對稱波狀處理。這些特徵與秣菟羅笈多時期的佛像極為相似。此外，第169窟中其它完成於420年前後的佛像(圖5)，也大多具有類似的特徵。立佛姿態、貼體袈裟表面的平行褶襞以及底邊呈喇叭狀外張之處理方式，都是秣菟羅而非犍陀羅藝術風格。

圖6

以“雕飾奇偉、冠於一世”著稱的雲岡曇曜五窟，完成於北魏和平年間(460–465年)。五窟中的佛像，熔外來造像藝術精華和中國傳統文化於一體，同時在許多方面本土化了。第18窟北、東、西三壁雕刻的巨大佛像(圖6)，袈裟輕薄貼體，褶襞緊密、平行處理，這些特徵毫無疑問地受到了笈多時秣菟羅的影響。第19窟東壁的立佛，無論在形體上還是在服飾上，皆顯示出極為清晰的早期笈多風格。第16窟的大立佛是曇曜五窟造像中的一個特例。其波發的表現，雖與犍陀羅流派不無關係，但雙領下垂式袈裟，則又是中土所創(圖7)。第20窟主尊衣紋厚重凸起之袈裟，令我們不由想起中亞佛像所著的毛質大衣。但袒右式袈裟披上了偏衫並在衣領上雕刻出褶紋，則又是平城藝術家和工匠智慧的結晶(圖8)。總之，在曇曜五窟的造像上，我們沒有發現早期犍陀羅流派的直接影響，但秣菟羅或中亞晚期佛像的混合影響還是非常強勁的。受到秣菟羅風格影響的佛像不僅在曇曜五窟中可以見到，而且在稍晚的第9、10窟中也多有發現，如兩窟前室立像的輕紗透體式袈裟。若探求其原型，使人立刻想到了成熟的笈多風格，就像我們在秣菟羅造像上所看到的那樣。

圖7

圖8

最後需要指出的是：佛教造像在中國的產生和發展，絕不可能是外來藝術在中土的簡單移置或機械模仿。它應是在吸收外來優秀的造型藝術精髓之後，在中國傳統文化藝術基礎上的再創造。這種再創造或者叫中國化，自始至終貫穿於中國佛教造型藝術之中。關於後者，容另文探討。

Gandharan and Mathuran Influence on Early Chinese Buddhist Images

Li Chongfeng

Cultural exchanges between China and India have a very long history. From the Eastern Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties periods, the tradition of constructing temples, pagodas and installing statues in grottoes flourished in China as Buddhism was disseminated across the country. The two peoples had a shared experience in the field of sculptural arts. There are literary sources documenting this exchange, and *Xu guhuapin lu* (Sequel to a Record of Ancient Paintings) clearly states that three monk painters travelled from India to China, and among them was Sakyabodhi who visited China during the Northern Wei period. Along with these visits by Indian monks and painters, Indian sculptural and painting techniques were transmitted to China.

Chinese Buddhist images inherited a very strong "foreign" flavour in both their subject matter and techniques. Zhang Sengyou, a renowned painter of the Liang dynasty, who claimed that he had inherited "modes from India" and "excelled in painting temple and monastic murals", established the "Zhang style", and Cao Zhongda, a painter of the Northern Qi period created the "Cao style", expressed in his Buddhist sculptures and paintings by the "pleated garments clinging tightly to the body". This style was clearly adopted from the Mathura Buddhist images from central India. In this respect, we believe that Mathura Buddhist images of the Gupta period had a major influence on early Chinese Buddhist icons.

The earliest extant Buddhist sculptures with precise dating and which were produced in large numbers include those in Cave 169 at Binglingsi [temple] and the Five Caves of Tanyao in Yungang. Niche 7 in the centre of the northern wall in Cave 169 at Binglingsi has an image dated to 420. The figure wears a *kāṣāyā* covering both shoulders, and the folds of the hanging drapery are smooth and reveal the contours of the body. The right leg at a slight angle suggests movement. The edge of the garment that falls from the left arm is depicted in the form of symmetrical waves. All these features are reminiscent of those on Mathura Buddhist images of the Gupta period.

The Five Caves of Tanyao in Yungang were completed in the Heping reign period (460-465) of the Northern Wei dynasty. The Buddhist icons are a combination of foreign sculptural influences and Sinic Styles. Although there is no direct influence from the early Gandhāran style, Mathura and Central Asia had a tremendous influence on these five caves.

Intra-Regional Influences in Southeast Asia

Jan Fontein

In a letter dated 5 March 1902, Raden Adjeng Kartini (1879-1904), the heroine of Indonesian women's emancipation, mentions the local explanation offered for the carved medallions of the mosque at Mantingan (built 1559) on Java's north coast. After giving a detailed description of a bookcase with decorative carvings that her sister had commissioned from a local craftsman, Kartini continues:

> We saw something similar in Mantingan, the tomb of the Sultan of Mantingan, about half an hour from here (i.e., from Japara, where Kartini lived); not woodcarving but stucco, let into the walls. These are old pieces brought from China, where the Sultan visited (Kartini 1912, pp 164-65).

She then continues to describe the local folklore regarding a Chinese, who had come from China in the company of the Sultan. From her remarks we gather that the Chinese influence that is so clearly visible in the carved stone (not, as Kartini thought, stucco) medallions of the mosque at Mantingan was traditionally explained as the result of the actual arrival of Chinese in Mantingan, or considered to be proof of the Chinese origin of these carvings. We now know that the medallions cannot have been imported, for it was recently discovered (Tjandrasasmita 1985) that the Javanese artists actually recycled *Ramayana* reliefs from a Hindu temple that had previously occupied the site of the mosque. The Javanese craftsmen freely borrowed motifs from Chinese porcelains as well as from wood carvings created under Chinese influence. The floral designs on imported Chinese blue-and-white porcelain of the 14th and 15th centuries, let into the brick walls of early Indonesian mosques, may well have exerted a much stronger influence on local craftsmen than hypothetical, living artists, brought over from China.

The simplistic interpretation of complex stylistic phenomena as the result of migrations is also known from other parts of Southeast Asia. For example, the Thai believed the numerous similarities between Sawankhalok and Chinese ceramics to be the result of the arrival of five hundred Chinese potters, presumably invited by the King of Sukhothai. The first Westerners who saw the great monuments of Hinduism and Buddhism in Southeast Asia also saw them as the product of migrations. Pierre Loti, in his *Pèlerin d'Angkor*, wrote: "The Khmer people were a detached branch of the great Āryan race, who settled here by chance, and developed far from their roots, isolated from everything by an immense stretch of forests and swamps" (Coedès 1963, p. 11).

Our ideas about the ways in which Hinduism, Buddhism and the arts and architecture inspired by them spread across the countries of Southeast Asia has come a long way since Pierre Loti, but it took considerable time before we relinquished the idea of migration as an explanation for it all. In the evolution of our thoughts about this process we can actually discern certain phases and identify definite milestones.

At first there was the diffusionist concept of "Greater India", which in fact did not differ much from the traditional idea, as reiterated by Raden Adjeng Kartini or Pierre Loti. That iconography and art styles, obviously derived from those of India, could flourish in Southeast Asia was seen as the felicitous result of the arrival of large numbers of Indian craftsmen. In contrast, local folk tradition attributed Borobudur and Angkor Wat not to the ancestors of the present Javanese and Khmer, but to heavenly architects, and the temples of Loro Jonggrang even to a demon hoping to win a bride. Westerners first saw these impressive ruins, salvaged from the encroaching jungle, as creations of Indian artisans, invited

by Indian kings, who had established Indian kingdoms all over the region. Under those circumstances it was hardly surprising that the Indian element in Southeast Asian art sometimes received too much emphasis.

The process of what was called "Indianisation" was often metaphorically explained in terms of currents or waves, and the movement was seen as a kind of ripple effect radiating from India, directly touching all of the countries of Southeast Asia in varying degrees of intensity, depending on the distance that separated them from the epicentre. Perhaps the first inkling that this process was more complex than previously believed came when, time and again, one-to-one comparisons did not work and it turned out to be impossible to point to a single site as the source of inspiration for any of the Southeast Asian monuments and art styles.

Bronze statues of the Buddha, with his monk's garb draped and folded in a linear manner that had its origins in the Amaravati area, were first singled out for attention (Dupont 1958). Initially attributed to the period of the first flourishing of Buddhist culture at the site of that name (2nd century CE), the statues were seen as the earliest harbingers of Buddhism in Southeast Asia. Moreover, they were often found in places close to the coast, a fact which helped to perpetuate a widespread diffusionist notion of Buddhist bridgeheads on foreign shores. However, as our knowledge of regional and local styles in Indian Buddhist art increased, it soon became evident that Southeast Asian sculpture derived its inspiration not from a single, but from many different, local Indian styles, in the north from Nālandā and Kurkihar in Bihar, and Chittagong in Bangladesh, and from Nagapattinam in the south. Because bronze statuettes could easily be transported by pilgrims, they played an important role in the transmission of Indian styles to Southeast Asia. These statuettes served as models for the much larger stone and bronze statuary that was locally made. The statuette of a Buddha seated in the so-called Western manner (cat. no. 37) immediately recalls the magnificent monumental triad in stone in Candi Mendut near Borobudur. While such a statuette may well have served as the prototype for the only preserved triad in stone, it is also possible that such bronzes were made as sacred souvenirs, carried home by pilgrims, just like the ubiquitous clay tablets. In Indonesia it is evident that by the 8th and 9th centuries the whole range of Indian styles from north to south contributed to the formation of a new style.

Rather than being coeval with the great *stūpa* of Amarāvatī, the statues that had first drawn Western attention as the putative instruments of Indianisation turned out to be at least half a millennium later than originally thought. The main artistic centre from which the manner of treatment of their drapery spread across Southeast Asia was not necessarily Amarāvatī itself, but more likely the early Buddhist kingdoms of Sri Lanka. It thus became evident that the transmission of Indian styles and iconography to Southeast Asia sometimes operated through intermediaries, in steps or relays, instead of as a direct, one-to-one process. It could no longer be regarded as a simple, bilateral process, involving only India and the recipient country. It had to be a multilateral process, in which not only India provided the inspiration, but in which neighbouring Southeast Asian states or states enjoying close mutual commercial ties, or states with a common 'artistic psychology' exerted a strong influence upon one another. Connections between Khmer and Indonesian art were the first to be noticed (de Coral-Rémusat 1936). More recently, the close typological resemblance was pointed out between the floral patterns on Dvāravatī stone *dharmacakra*, Wheels of the Law, and that on early Cambodian stone lintels (Brown 1997). Ornamental styles and traditions of neighbouring countries turn out to be of equal or perhaps even greater importance than the relationship between the Dvāravatī wheels and their Indian "prototypes" of the Gupta period. Such a new approach, when applied to other types of objects, may well prove helpful for our future understanding of the process.

In retrospect it would seem that the Buddhas in the Amarāvatī style were elevated to their position

of importance, not only because of their considerable artistic merit, but because they seemed to fit so comfortably with our notions of "Indianisation". In reality they may represent an example of quite a different aspect of that process: the rejected option. One of the many reasons why Indian styles and Indian iconography soon began to assume different shapes in Southeast Asia was the choice exercised by the inhabitants of these countries to either accept features that suited their purpose and taste or reject those that did not. The so-called Amarāvatī manner of drapery – technically much more heterogeneous than was at first realised – does not seem to have left any lasting traces in the art styles of Buddhist Southeast Asia, contrary to the style of the Gupta period, the influence of which can be seen almost anywhere in Southeast Asia.

One example of other stylistic or iconographic features that were accepted in some and disregarded in other Southeast Asian cultures is the flame on top of the Buddha's *uṣṇīṣa*. It originated in south India in the area of Nagapattinam and spread to Southeast Asia by way of Anuradhapura in Sri Lanka (cat. no. 33), but never caught on beyond the area of present-day Burma and Thailand (cat. no. 49). The sculptors at Borobudur, accustomed to representing *nāga* as human beings with a snake-hood, were at a loss as to how to illustrate the Buddha's meditation under the protection of Mucalinda. The solution found in Cambodia (cat. no. 46) or Nepal (cat. no. 51) never became known or accepted in Indonesia. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the selection of saints and deities singled out for special devotion. It is obvious that Agastya and Bima, widely worshipped in Indonesia, were at best of secondary importance in India itself, and the same can be said of the cult of Kṣitigarbha in the Far East. The Eleven Headed Avalokiteśvara (cat. no. 78), common in all the lands of northern Buddhism, seems to have been unknown to insular Southeast Asia. There is perhaps no country in which more representations of Brahmā have been found than Indonesia. This suggests that differences of this type between India and "Greater India" could even extend to the principal deities of the pantheon.

In the Far East the vast amount of Chinese Buddhist literature, translated and original, canonical and non-canonical, provides us with a large amount of material for studying the process of what Erik Zürcher called the Buddhist conquest of China. In Southeast Asia there is no other field in which the Indian influence is better documented, and can be observed in greater detail over a longer period of time, than in the impact of Indian epic literature, especially that of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and, to a lesser extent, the *Mahābhārata*. The enchanting story of Rāma and Sita, cast and recast innumerable times in prose, verse, in theatre or shadow plays, dance performances and set to music, illustrates in a colourful manner the many different ways in which this tale could be appropriated by the diverse peoples and tribes of Southeast Asia (Raghavan 1980). It was only in the countries of the Far East that it found no noticeable local response. By transposing the setting of the story to their own locality and by adding elaborations such as new episodes and even introducing new characters, the *Rāmāyaṇa* tale was brought into accord with local traditions and tastes. By shifting the emphasis to characters with whom the audience could especially identify, the poets, writers and dramaturgs, as well as the painters and sculptors inspired by the story, created a dazzling array of new *Rāmāyaṇa* inspired texts. The popular appeal of these tales was of remarkable durability and survived effortlessly even beyond the conversion to Islam. This shared tradition of all Southeast Asia is perhaps the best justification for naming it "Greater India", for in their love and respect for these Indian heroes Southeast Asia is indeed one.

Scholars native to Southeast Asia have long regarded the concept of "Greater India" as one smacking of cultural imperialism, and have stressed instead the "local genius" (Bosch 1952; Ayatrohaedi 1986). It took some time for this notion to become generally accepted, for during most of the colonial period the archaeology of pre-Hindu-Buddhist Southeast Asia lagged far behind the study of the monuments of the

great "classical" styles on which most scholars lavished their attention. Archaeology shared this neglect with the study of the arts of Islamic Southeast Asia, often viewed not as something new and vibrant, but as the sad conclusion of a once glorious iconic tradition. However, as our archaeological knowledge of the area began to increase, it became evident that the seeds of Indian civilisation had been sown in soil that was much better prepared than we had originally assumed. By assigning a much more active role to "local genius" than the mere choice of either accepting or rejecting the fruits of Indian civilisation, and by focusing not only on the east-bound traffic, but on that in the other direction – that of Southeast Asian pilgrims travelling to India – a better balance was struck between Indian influence and Southeast Asian preference.

However, one of the important factors that many seem to lose sight of in balancing "Indian influence" and "local genius" is that the final result of the process in which these two elements intermingle is neither a completely Indian nor a purely Southeast Asian architecture or art style. It is not even something in between, but something completely new. Just as in the formation of Southeast Asian states a different type of social organisation and local rule may be hidden behind a strict adherence to the use of the Indian terminology of kingship, a new and quite different meaning may have been given to Indian shapes and styles. In spite of the fact that they are in many ways deeply rooted in Indian religious, cosmological and literary concepts, Angkor Wat, Borobudur and Loro Jonggrang have no exact artistic or functional prototype, equivalent or counterpart on the Indian subcontinent. For example, the grand manner in which the Khmer artists took up the theme of the ancient Indian myth of the Churning of the Ocean, in both two- and three-dimensional form, dwarfs all Indian creations inspired by this theme. The way the sculptors of Borobudur pioneered the expansion of the repertoire of texts suitable to be carved in stone on a *stūpa* has no parallel in the Holy Land of Buddhism itself. And where do we find a major shrine dedicated to Brahmā? Only at Loro Jonggrang, where the epic *Rāmāyaṇa* received its most elaborate and monumental treatment in stone.

The incomparable greatness of Borobudur and Angkor Wat, first extolled not by specialists of Southeast Asian art, but by scholars of Indian languages and culture like Sylvain Lévi, has now been universally recognised. It would seem, however, that we still have not fully accepted the consequences of the undeniable reality that these edifices are neither entirely Indian nor purely Southeast Asian, but something different and uniquely new. The texts illustrated in such great detail on Borobudur are all well-known mainstream Mahāyāna scriptures. At the same time it is evident that the Buddhas, enshrined in the niches and the perforated *stūpas* of the monument, do not represent an iconic hierarchy seen at any other site or described in any scripture known to us. At Borobudur there is, whether we like it or not, a surfeit of Buddhas that no one has succeeded in adequately explaining. Yet scholars continue to try to force the system of Buddhas of a monument so manifestly devoid of esoteric traits into one of the *maṇḍala* schemes familiar from India or Tibet. Their lack of success suggests that we may have to accept the deviations from iconographic conventions as part of that unique, neither strictly Indian nor purely Southeast Asian, character of the monument.

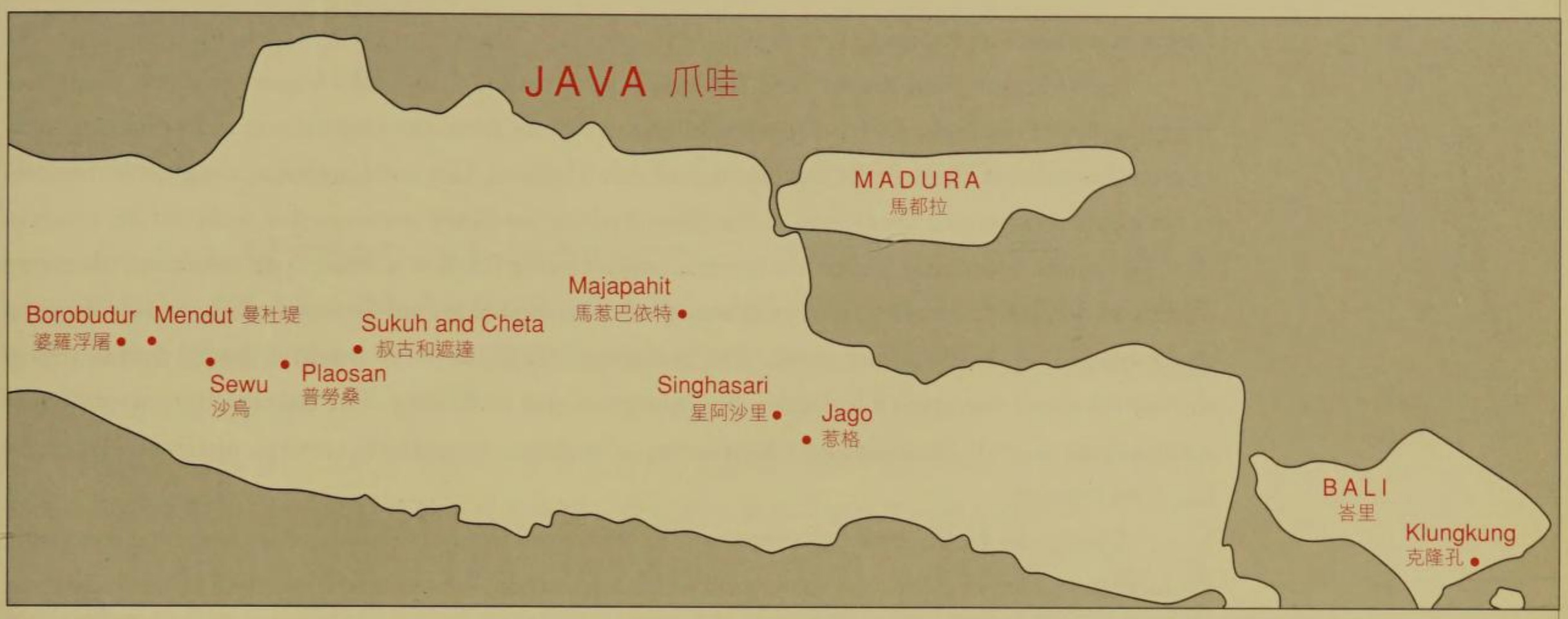
The crucial part of the problem is that the *mudrā*, the symbolic gestures – the only distinguishing mark of these Buddhas – do not always seem to follow the rules of Indian iconography. Here again, as is so often the case, deeper differences in symbolic content may be hidden behind a superficial likeness. Almost from the very beginnings of Buddhist art in Southeast Asia we see a creative, independent approach to the use of *mudrā*, quite different from the Indian system. Most conspicuous is the use of the same *mudrā* for both hands in continental Southeast Asia. Borobudur is the only monument in the Buddhist world where the Buddha, in his First Sermon in the Deer Park, displays the *vitarkamudrā*. Such signs of

an independent approach to the basic rules of iconography should make us wary of accepting identifications of Buddhas or explanations of systems of Buddhas based upon Indian or Tibetan iconographic conventions. Such caution is all the more justified now that the idea that Borobudur is a three-dimensional *maṇḍala*, first proposed by Omura Seigai (and not Heinrich Zimmer, as is often believed) seventy-five years ago, has finally begun to be relinquished.

Another factor that we had long underestimated, but which archaeological fieldwork has now clearly revealed, is the importance of the role of maritime trade in the spread of the fruits of Indian civilisation. For a long time Western scholars acted as if they believed that maritime trade had somehow started with the appearance of the Portuguese on the Southeast Asian scene (Reid 1988). An exception was made for the well-documented maritime exploits of the Chinese eunuch-admiral Zheng He during the early Ming period. We now know, of course, that maritime trade had existed in Southeast Asia for hundreds if not thousands of years before the first Westerners rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and that all the trade of the combined East India Companies represented only a small part of the total volume. Of particular archaeological interest are the recent finds of 9th and 10th century Chinese stoneware shards from the Changsha kilns in Hunan Province that have been identified in considerable quantities in Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Iran and Iraq. Produced in kilns that were conveniently located near waterways, the wares were taken to south Chinese harbours to be transhipped all over Southeast and South Asia. Among the broken jars found near Ningpo is one that carries the inscription "Allah akbar", i.e., "Allah is great". It is probably the earliest example of *Chinese de Commande* made for the Near Eastern market. It is evident that the makers of the technically superior Changsha wares, by establishing international maritime trade connections, paved the way for the much better known and much more thoroughly investigated celadon and blue-and-white wares of the 14th and 15th centuries. All this clearly demonstrates the extent and volume of westbound trade, factors that cannot be ignored when we assess the importance of trade in the early relationship between the Indian subcontinent and the countries of continental, peninsular and insular Southeast Asia.

In addition to the wide range of regional and local styles of Indian Buddhist art there is, of course, the chronological aspect that adds to the complex, multi-layered structure of Indian-inspired Southeast Asian art. However, when we survey the extensive Western literature on Indian influences on Southeast Asia and the Far East, it immediately strikes us that somehow the beginning and early phases of this process have drawn much more attention from scholars than its waning years. Yet commercial, cultural and religious contacts between India and the states of Southeast Asia lasted much longer than the few centuries during which the great "classical" monuments were created. When we read the accounts of the sorry state of the temples of Nālandā during the last days of northern Indian Buddhism, we cannot help wondering how this once great intellectual centre managed to exert its influence to the very end. The monk Śūnyadiśa, perhaps the last graduate of Nālandā University, still travelled all the way to China, like many of his predecessors. He was also instrumental in the revival of the Meditative Sect in Korea. His biographer maintains that he was the son of the King of Magadha and born in Kapilavastu, a bold claim that is difficult to believe, but his mother was a princess from Kanchipuram, one of the last strongholds of Buddhism in India. Contacts between Kanchipuram, Nāgapaṭṭinam and the Javanese kingdoms were maintained until well into the 14th century.

Sometimes renewed interest in Indian styles and Indian iconography was kindled by other major art styles. In Indonesia there is clear evidence of a revival of interest in Pāla Buddhist iconography (cat. nos 24-30) in East Javanese bronzes (cat. no. 42) and the statuary of Caṇḍī Jāgo (late 13th century). In other cases the source of inspiration would seem to have been scriptural. The three-dimensional *maṇḍala*



Map IV Indonesia

of Nganjuk and other examples of *maṇḍala* consisting of numerous figurines undoubtedly owe their existence to the fresh arrival of scriptures in which such *maṇḍala* are described. It is here that Indian and Tibetan iconographical texts can be, and actually have been, useful (Chandra 1989). The geographically wide distribution of this type of *maṇḍala* from Ladakh and Sikkim to East Java argues in favour of a scriptural rather than a sculptural source of inspiration.

To scriptural transmission should also be attributed a theme that can be found in the Buddhist literature of almost any country that was once part of the Buddhist world. It is the theme of the hero who travels to hell, not because he is reborn there to atone for sins committed in previous lives, but as a temporary visitor, who witnesses the cruel punishments meted out to sinners. He returns to the world of the living to testify to these horrors and spends the remaining years allotted to him helping people mend their ways and avoid rebirth in those infernal abodes. The identity and the status in life of the heroes in these Asian precursors of the *Divine Comedy* may vary. In China it is often Buddha's great disciple Maudgalyāyana (Mulian 目蓮) who descends into hell to search for his mother, an adventure popularised in folk performances by story tellers or in the lay Buddhist theatre. In Mongolia he is Molon Tojin, who visits the Supreme Judge of Hell to see for himself how each sin has its own appropriate punishment. His story is retold in full colour in some of the earliest precursors of our comic books (Sazykin 1989). In Thailand he is the Sri Lankan saint Phra Malai who visits both heaven and hell. His exploits are illustrated in wall paintings, in illuminated manuscripts and in sculpture (Griswold 1957; Brereton 1993). At Candi Jāgo (East Java) a long series of bas reliefs shows the hero Kuñjarakarṇa, a traveller to hell who discovers to his dismay that a cauldron is being prepared to receive his relative Pūrṇawijaya (Teeuw 1981). Even in modern times, the painted scenes of hell on the ceiling of the court house Kerta Ghosa at Klungkung (Bali), which provide vivid illustrations of the adventures of a traveller to the inferno, were used not only as legal precedents to which the judges could point, but as a solemn reminder that all, including the judges themselves, are subject to the same inexorable law of *karma*. In Bhutan, those who visit hell in a trance (*'daslog*) return to the world of the living to perform a function comparable to that of the shamans (Pommaret 1989). All this clearly demonstrates that not only the canonical literature or the *jātaka*, but also non-canonical literary products of a more vernacular genre can give us an insight into the many ways in which a common literary theme strengthened the cohesion of all Asian cultures in which the Buddhist

Law was preached and spread.

As Buddhism disappeared from the Indian subcontinent, Sri Lanka began to assume the role of the guardian of the faith. Just as their Bodhi tree, a sapling from the original tree at Bodh Gaya, now became the source of all the Bodhi trees planted all over Thailand, Laos and Cambodia, the great monasteries of Sri Lanka also became the centres of Buddhist learning for all the countries that followed the tenets of the Pali Canon. Even after Buddhism was no longer a living religion in India itself, however, the sacred site where the Buddha had attained enlightenment continued to attract devotion and to serve as a model and a symbol for the Buddhist world. The Burmese faithfully restored the Mahābodhi shrine, and its distinctive shape was copied in Pagan, in Chiangmai and in Beijing. The construction of edifices of similar shape in both Thailand and China seems to be connected with the commemorative mood of the late 15th century.

During the 15th century, the expansion of Islam into parts of Southeast Asia raised the concern of the southern Indian kingdom of Vijayanagara which tried to establish closer relations with Hindu kingdoms, whose very existence was threatened by this development. The late 15th century inscriptions, which attest to a revival of Hindu cults of a southern Indian type in the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit, probably must be judged against the background of this renewed political interest (Casparis 1997). The ritual known as the Night of Siva, well-known in Vijayanagara, inspired the Javanese poet Mpu Tanakung to compose his *Śiwarātrikalpa* (Teeuw 1969). Whether this ritual was actually practised in ancient Java remains unclear, but it has survived to the present day on the island of Bali. While at this stage the data would seem to be few and far between, further research on the post-classical period may reveal more evidence of the continued influence of Indian culture and religion, especially that of southern India, in the waning years of Indian Buddhism and the revival of Hindu cults.

東南亞地域文化的相互影響

Jan Fontein

一直以來，很多學者討論有關佛教、印度教和古代印度文學對東南亞文化的影響。他們最初認為這些影響是民族遷移帶來的結果，後來產生“大印度文化”的觀念，相信由於印度的強盛，印度文化便廣泛傳播出去。然而這些觀念已漸被修正，東南亞文化其實是多元化的，經歷一個複雜的印度化過程。

東南亞的佛教和印度教藝術顯示出多個文化的相互影響，它們所受到的影響不是來自一個地方。印度的藝術風格是間接地傳播到東南亞，斯里蘭卡便是一個重要的文化樞紐。

此外，學者過往側重研究東南亞的印度教和佛教碑刻，而忽略了其他考古發現，所以一直低估了東南亞本土文化的發展在印度化過程中的重要性。另一方面，考古發現也帶來有力的證據，證明以往廣泛的貿易活動是促進宗教和文化交流的主要因素。可惜這些早期活動卻一直被西方學者所忽視，他們祇專注東印度公司的貿易史。

印度文化對東南亞的影響顯然地被估計得過早終結，以印尼為例，印度文化的影響其實持續至十五世紀的。

總括來說，印度化的東南亞文化既不是印度文化，也不是本土的東南亞文化，而是經過長時期的複雜演變才產生出來的新文化，因此不適宜祇以印度藝術的角度，去衡量他們的藝術成就。

The Three Jewels* at Pagan

Don Stadtner

The celebrated Tibetan monk Tārānātha (b. 1575) observed that the art of "Pu-khan" (Pagan) "did not reach Tibet in the past".[1] Much of Tārānātha's *History of Buddhism in India* is apocryphal, but from his point in time he was right to detect no resemblance between the art of Tibet and Burma. But were a Tibetan to visit Pagan between the 11th and 13th centuries, he would probably have felt remarkably at home. During this period, much of Burmese wall painting, for example, shared an uncanny superficial resemblance to Tibetan pictorial traditions that also originally stemmed from eastern India in the Pāla era (8th-13th centuries). However, in spite of certain fundamental similarities, Tibetan, Indian and Burmese monks would have been aware of their basic differences. Indeed, these outsiders at Pagan would have marvelled at processions of white elephants, pentagonal-shaped *stūpa*, and recitations of the Pāli canon. At the same time, foreign pilgrims could not have but envied the royal favours showered on the Three Jewels at Pagan. The outpouring of patronage at Pagan had no close rival in the entire history of the Buddhist world. It began in the 11th century and ended with the Mongol incursions from Yunnan into upper Burma in the late 13th century. This period witnessed an unprecedented building campaign that produced thousands of brick monuments stretching as far as the eye could see along the Irrawaddy River. The entire archaeological site encompasses an area thirteen kilometres in length and eight kilometres in width, and a recent inventory recorded 2,032 monuments built during the Pagan period. Of these, 911 were temples, of which 347 have partially retained their internal mural decoration. There are 524 *stūpa* and 415 monasteries, and ordination halls, libraries and image houses make up the remainder. As many as 151 mounds have yet to be excavated.[2] A site further down the Irrawaddy also encompasses more than 100 structures.

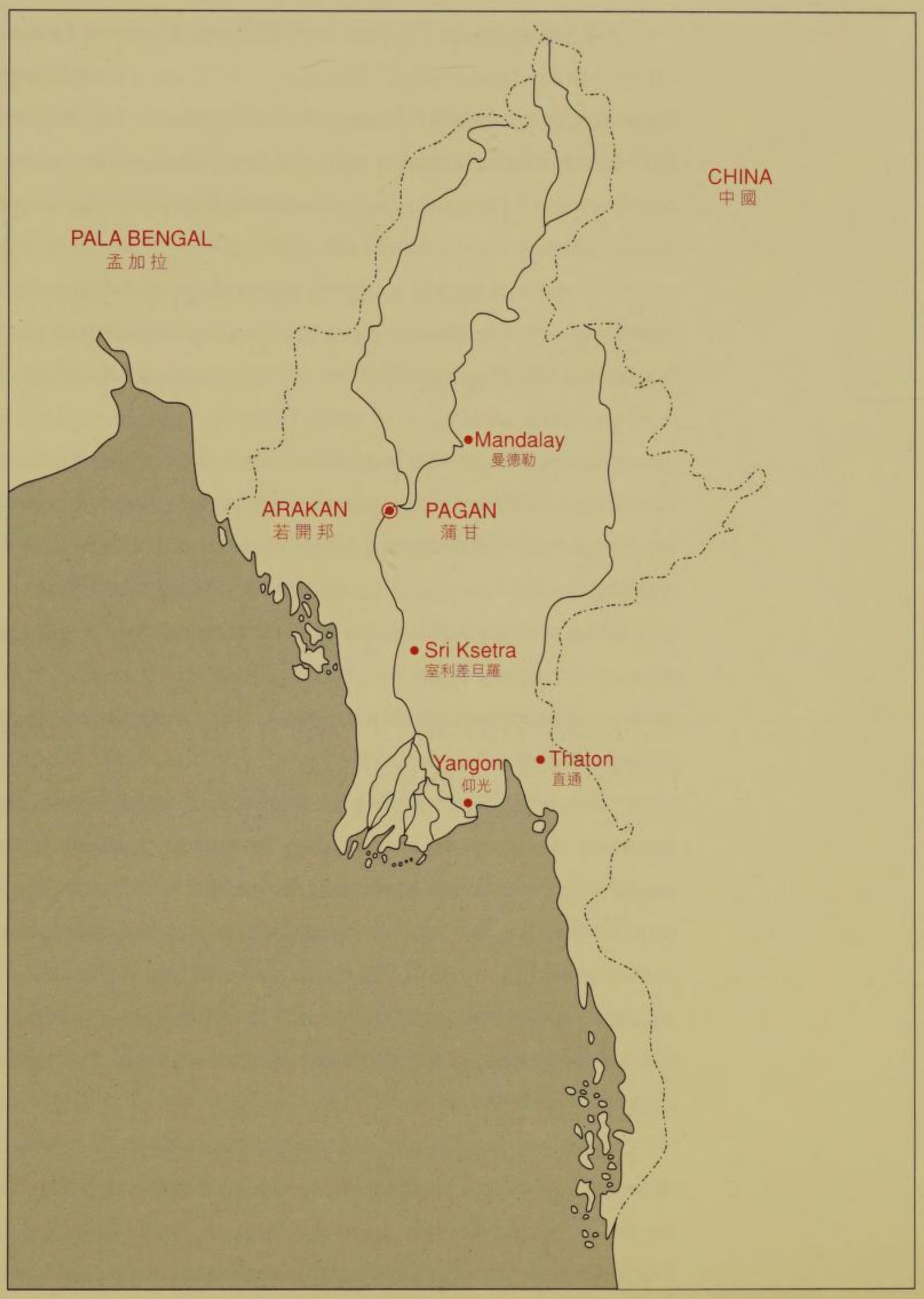
The aforementioned brief Mongol disturbances weakened the state, but upper Burma never descended into the 'dark ages', as some scholars have suggested. Indeed, numerous inscriptions prove that patronage continued at Pagan, albeit in a diminished form, long after the Mongol incursions. Power soon shifted to upper Burma, first to Ava in the 14th century and then much later to Amarapura and Mandalay. Nonetheless, even in the 19th century Burmese kings never hesitated to trace their dynastic origins back to Pagan. During the post-Pagan era close to 200 monuments were built at Pagan and many temples were refurbished.

Burmese civilisation blended influences from South and Southeast Asia, Sri Lanka, China and the Himalayas. Added to this mixture was an indigenous faith centred around a broad range of 'spirits' (*nāts*, Burmese). The Burmese were a Sino-Tibetan group which migrated into upper Burma no earlier than the late 9th century. However, the style of temples and art now associated with the city arose only at the beginning of the 11th century.

Prior to the rise of Pagan, two ethnic groups professed Buddhism in lower Burma; the Mon, whose centre was Sudhammavati (modern Thaton) near Thailand, and the Pyu, or Tircul, whose capital was Śri Kṣetra (near modern Prome) in central Burma. The Pyu were largely eclipsed by the middle of the 9th century, while in the 11th century the Mon were eventually incorporated within the hegemony of Pagan.

* The Three Jewels are called "Triratna" in Sanskrit. During Buddhist incantations, the believer takes refuge in the Three Jewels: the Buddha; the Dhamma (teachings of the Buddha); and the Saṅgha (the fraternity of monks).

Our views of Pagan civilisation are heavily coloured by the *Glass Palace Chronicle*, a comprehensive history of Burma assembled by scholars in 1829, and which was largely reliant on a chronicle from the early 18th century composed by U Kala.[3] Only the small portion of the Chronicle covering the Pagan period was translated into English but it quickly became the funnel through which our interpretation of Pagan was forced. The fact that modern historians have bound themselves to this single text prompted the following rueful comment by an American scholar, "Rarely has a national historiographic tradition depended so heavily on a single author as the Burmese tradition has on U Kala."[4]



Map V Myanmar during the Pagan Period

The Chronicle is remarkably accurate for later periods, but its veracity dwindles sharply by the Pagan period, and especially in relation to the period before *circa* 1175. It was composed at a time when Burma had been solidly Theravādin for centuries, and Pagan's religious history was therefore interpreted by means of issues relevant for later Burmese history, such as the recurring 'purification' movements led by strong, pious kings who often invoked Sinhala orthodoxy. According to the Chronicle, for example, a 'purification' drive was purportedly inaugurated at Pagan upon the capture of a 'pure' *Tipiṭaka* from the Mon in lower Burma in 1057. Prior to this, again according to the Chronicle, monks not only drank liquor but consumed meat. To modern scholars this signalled Tantric Buddhist practices imported from eastern India. On this basis, Pagan's art was thus forced into two neat competing compartments; the debased Mahāyāna/Tantricism favoured by the early Burmans, which was eclipsed by a later surge of 'pure' Theravāda ushered in by the conquest of the Mon in 1057. Beginning with G.H. Luce, bald ethnic prejudices shaped the debate about Pagan's evolving temple art:

> The Burman, in contrast with the Talaing [Mon] of those days, was an unromantic matter-of-fact person. . . And when he borrowed their [the Mon] style of architecture he soon knocked out big open doorways on all sides of their murky bat-ridden temples, and let in sunlight.[5]

The intellectual milieu at Pagan was, however, far more complex, as Michael Aung Thwin and others have demonstrated.[6] For example, Than Tun has argued that Pagan's so-called Tantric monks (known as the *Ari* in the Chronicle) should probably be identified with a 'forest-dwelling' sect (*araññaavāsin*, Pāli) which routinely shared wine and meat with patrons at festivities, but not necessarily within a Tantric ritual context.[7] However, facile interpretations proposed long ago nevertheless linger in most writings on Pagan that rely on the Chronicle.

The most widely accepted chronology of the monuments is also in confusion, since it depends heavily on the Chronicle. The only systematic dating of the key temples was proposed by Luce in his magisterial *Old-Pagan Early-Burma*.[8] Luce incorrectly assumed, however, that the modern names of temples were the same, or similar, to those found in the Chronicle. In most cases the connection is tenuous. For example, since Luce was unable to locate the famous Ānanda Temple mentioned in the Chronicle, he identified it with a shrine known as the Nanda Temple, named not for a disciple of the Buddha, but for the Nandamūla Cave that was home to saints who visited King Kyanzittha (1084-1111). The identification was based solely on the similarity of the sound of the two names. The temple's original appellation is unknown, although at least by the late 18th century it was called the Ānanda. The compiler of the l8th century chronicle, upon which the *Glass Palace Chronicle* was based, drew on contemporaneous names (or on earlier chronicles) which in some cases perhaps reflected the original names, but which in other cases probably did not.

An English envoy, Michael Crawfurd, visited Pagan in l827 and recorded from local officials the names of various temples and their purported ancient donors.[9] Significantly, these differed in a few respects from those reported in the Chronicle, which was composed only two years later. This discrepancy implies that the lore surrounding the temples had changed slightly between the original l8th century chronicle and the time of Crawfurd's visit. If this is true, then it pays to speculate about the changes that occurred between the Pagan era and the 18th century. However, since some of the information in the Chronicle corroborates information gleaned from inscriptions, it would be foolhardy to ignore the Chronicle entirely.

Only a handful of the important buildings are connected with datable inscriptions, and many of these are not even clearly connected to the building's foundation or completion. Future chronologies should be based primarily upon this body of dated work, and only then be checked against the Chronicle. The overall development of temple architecture and its relative chronology first proposed by Luce has nevertheless generally stood the test of time, although the specific dates assigned to some principal temples need to be re-examined.

During the course of Pagan's 300-year evolution, many complex influences shaped its character. For example, the Mon of lower Burma had a great impact, since the earliest inscriptions at Pagan are in the Mon language and Mon participated in court rituals. On the other hand, the role of Mon sculpture and architecture at Pagan is impossible to access since so little Mon work has yet been uncovered in lower Burma. The first use of Burmese at Pagan appears on a unique quadrilingual inscription in Mon, Burmese Pāli and Pyu dated to 1113. While Pyu influence at Pagan was therefore not entirely erased, it was probably negligible, however, since there is a gap of more than a hundred years between their fall in the 9th century and the rise of Pagan's art. Moreover, temples and *stūpa* at Śri Kṣetra attributed to the Pyu probably belong to much later periods.[10]

The iconography at Pagan reveals tremendously varied influences. Frescoes, for example, depict Mahāyāna Bodhisattva and even Tantric *siddha*, pointing to eastern India and/or possibly even Tibet or Nepal. In contrast, wall surfaces of other temples are devoted to scenes drawn not only from the Pāli

canon but even from the nationalistic Sinhalese chronicle, the *Mahāvaṁsa*. Evaluating the implications of such diversity is a central task for the researcher.

Pagan's elites patronised temples in which the iconographic focus covered the complete spectrum of Buddhist belief, from Mahāyāna/Tāntric to orthodox Theravāda. To what extent do these sharp differences suggest that the *saṅgha* at Pagan was differentiated into various distinct sects or groups? Did some groups trace their descent to 'schools' or lineages within India, as Tibetans did, and did others associate themselves with Sri Lanka in general or with specific monastic Singhala lineages? Was ordination by one group recognised by others? Did the court favour one or more groups at the expense of others? These critical questions are easily answered in later Burmese history, but the evidence at Pagan is slim and inconclusive.

Spiritual leaders and monasteries probably fell in and out of favour and suffered from infighting during this 300-year period, if the later history of the Burmese *saṅgha* (and human nature) is any guide. Disputes over land tenure between the crown, its citizenry and individual monasteries abound in the inscriptions, although religious discord between different groups generally does not figure in the epigraphs. The apparent absence of strong competing religious groups may help to explain the rather even flow of patronage.

Surprisingly little emerges from Pagan's hundreds of epigraphs that refer to the groups or sects to which the monks or monasteries were affiliated. For example, the type of clear distinction between monastic groups (or *nikāya*, Pāli) found at Anurādhapura in Sri Lanka is unknown at Pagan. The only 'sect' about which there is much information is a group that rose to prominence, but probably not until the 13th century, the aforementioned '*araññavāsin*' (or forest dwellers). For many decades this group was led by a monk named Mahākāssapa. An important tradition of 'forest monks' existed in Thailand, but there is no evidence to suggest a link between this sect and the Thai forest dwellers.

Another significant monk in the 13th century is known only by his title, skhin Vinanndhuir (after Vinayadhāra, Pali), or 'Upholder of the Vinaya.' This monk may have favoured educational practices, while Mahākāssapa was more directed to meditation, but evidence for such a distinction is not strong.[11] Both Vinanndhuir and Mahākāssapa concentrated their establishments in the eastern part of Pagan, north of Minnathu village. The 'group' founded by Mahākāsaapa continued until at least 1390, but Vinanndhuir's influence had waned by the end of the 13th century.

Perhaps the most influential monk was Mahāthera Arahan who recited the blessing (*paritta*, Pāli) at the consecration of King Kyanzittha's palace.[12] Of the 4,108 monks present, eight senior *thera* are specifically named, but it is nowhere stated that these eight supervised individual monasteries or represented different divisions. Did this large number of monks constitute all of the monks present at Pagan or were they simply those with seniority? Were these 4,108 monks only those attached to royal monasteries?

By the end of the Pagan era the *saṅgha* had collectively became a dominant land holder. In fact, Aung Thwin has argued that the dynasty suffered an inexorable decline because the crown was steadily deprived of state land revenues.[13]

Spiritual merit was accumulated by donations to the *saṅgha*, which ranged from enormous land grants to the most insignificant flower. The aim was to be re-born at the time of Metteyya (Pāli for the Sanskrit, Maitreya) the Buddha of the Future, as numerous epigraphs testify. In some cases, lay donors and monks requested even Buddhahood (*sabbaññutanana*, Pāli).[14]

Kingship, by its very nature, implied a vast store of good *karma* produced by beneficent actions. A passage in one inscription suggests that the women of Pagan, upon seeing their king at the river bank, on the highway or at a cross-roads, would remark, "Such grandeur and magnificence as this is because of

doing pious deeds in the past". In his turn, the king was expected to provide prosperity and social justice, and hence in the same inscription we read that "poor old women who sell pots . . . . shall become rich."[15]

The eleven largest monuments were all royal donations and were constructed before 1300, if the traditional dating and attributions of the Chronicle are accepted. The brick masonry in each of these is approximately fifty times larger than in a typical temple or *stūpa*,[16] and their total volume roughly corresponds to a quarter of all the construction that occurred during the entire Pagan period. The construction of the Shwe-gu-gyi temple, which is slightly larger than an average temple, took seven and a half months to complete according to an inscription. If bricks were a measure of merit, then Pagan was the epicentre of virtue.

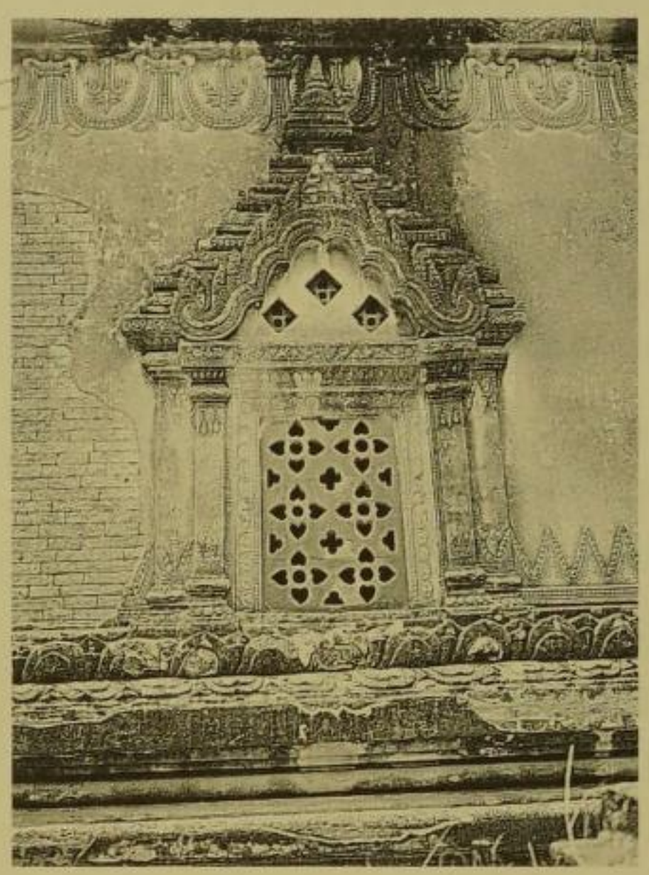


Fig. 1 Myinkaba Kubyauk-gyi Temple, Exterior Wall

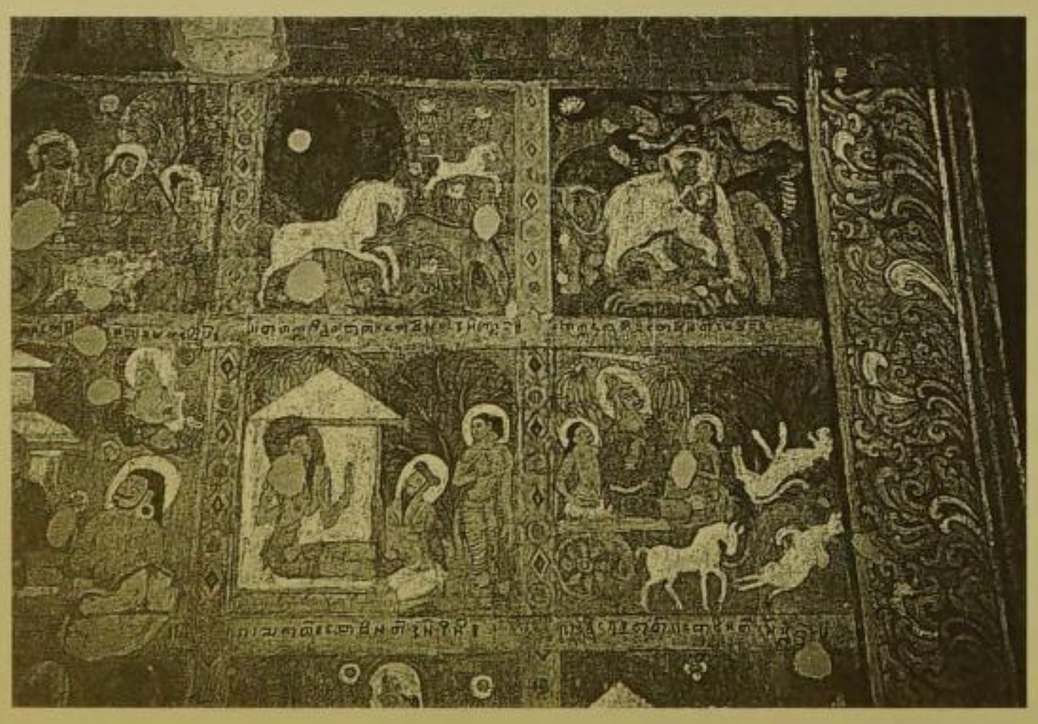


Fig. 2 Myinkaba Kubyauk-gyi Temple, Jākatakas

Burma was indisputably influenced by Pāla India but there is virtually no tangible confirmation of this contact. A few Burmese inscriptions found in Bodh Gaya confirm that Burmese played some role in the refurbishment of the Bodhi Temple, but no evidence suggests formal ties with the Pāla dynasty to the same degree as a donation by a foreign Sailendra king recorded at Nālandā,[17] and no significant objects of Indian manufacture have been recovered at Pagan. Small stone plaques (Burmese, *aṇdagu*) featuring 'life-scenes' of the Buddha have been found at Pagan and India, but their original provenance is controversial.[18]

Since so little temple architecture has survived in the Pāla realm, it is tempting to reconstruct the lost eastern Indian architectural traditions on the basis of temples at Pagan. The sophisticated vaulting in Pagan may have its remote origins in east India where traces of simple vaulting have been found at Nālandā, Pāhārpūr and Ratnagiri. However, Indian architects never achieved the sophistication in *voussoired* vaulting systems that marked Pagan.[19] In outward form, temple superstructures at Pagan have been likened to depictions of temple towers sculpted above the central figure on Pāla stelae. The multi-levelled 'shrines' framing Pāla stone sculpture or depicted in manuscript illustrations also appear ubiquitously at Pagan, generally as exterior stucco ornamentation above windows (Fig. 1).

Countless motifs at Pagan were adopted from Pāla India. A few painted cloth fragments amply illustrate this connection. They were discovered following the earthquake in 1975. One was rolled around a bamboo dowel placed within the arm of a Buddha image made of brick and stucco. The scenes are *jātaka* arranged in horizontal rows, with Burmese ink sketches silhouetted on a light border below (Fig. 2). The figural style and motifs are strongly reminiscent of Pāla manuscript art. The multicoloured edges, for example, finds close parallels in certain Pāla manuscripts and in Tibetan painting. This textile, along with many frescos, suggests that Burmese artisans were trained in the traditions of Pāla India.[20] That Pāla illustrations of *jātaka* are unusual, if not rare, suggests the way in which common Theravāda themes, such as *jātaka*, would have been executed in a Pāla style.

Temple interiors were completely filled with painted illustrations, and in many cases compositions were integrated with painted stucco ornamentation in high relief. A temple known for its advanced Mahāyāna and Tāntric elements is the Abe-ya-dana. In addition to many depictions of Bodhisattva, numerous *siddha* are contained within a thin register separating the wall surface into two divisions. Inside

the porch of the same temple is a painted *jātaka* series. The juxtaposition of *jātaka* and Tantric elements reveals how our simple distinctions and interpretations of Buddhist art are inappropriate.

Stone sculpture in general and metalwork in a more select manner followed a completely opposite evolution to that of painting, since these two media drifted completely away from Pāla conventions, which persisted strongly in painting until the end of the 13th century, if not longer. The exact progression is not yet understood but, by the end of the 13th century, figures in stone and bronze had become exceedingly heavy and clumsy. A rather crude seated bronze Buddha dated 1293 is important since it helps to chart this weakening of Pāla influence.[21] Until a reliable chronology can be established, sculpture and bronzes resembling Pāla work should be dated broadly to the 11th and 12th centuries. The remainder, which moved away from Indian norms, can be grouped together within the 13th century, a period of great temple building.

In general, however, metalwork adhered more closely to Pāla norms than did stone sculpture (Fig. 3), indeed, while Pagan sculpture can scarcely be mistaken for Indian work, the same is often not true of metalwork. This is somewhat analogous to early Indonesian art, where bronzes reveal a much greater debt to Pāla styles than stone sculpture (cat. nos 38, 39 and 42).

The divergent paths followed by bronzes and stone sculpture are difficult to explain, but perhaps painters had more ready access to works imported from Pāla India. In addition, sculpture at Pagan never followed eastern Indian styles to the same extent as painting.

Fig. 3 Seated Buddha, Stone, Pagan Museum, 11th-12th centuries CE

While it is tempting to think of Indian painters fleeing from Pāla India to Burma in the early 13th century to avoid Muslim attacks, this scarcely explains why stone sculptors would not have joined them. The radically different directions taken in these media at Pagan nevertheless pose fascinating questions.

A small number of Pāla Buddhist stelae from Bangladesh have certain similarities with a number of Pagan sculptures, but it is difficult to determine which region influenced the other, if this occurred at all.[22] The huge area of Burma bordering Bangladesh, the Arakan, was never included in the Pagan realm, and few objects from this period are known from the Arakan. Future discoveries may, however, hold the key.

Metalwork in general was of a high quality. Some of the finest works are in *repousée* but are rarely illustrated. A small number of figures were produced with a high nickel content that resulted in a silver finish.[23] This technique is unknown in eastern India, but is found in Yunnan, China, which borders Burma in the north.

Artisans, including painters, stone workers, metalworkers, and wood carvers, are frequently referred to in lengthy donative inscriptions, which even provide details of their wages.[24] In one instance painters executed 14,619 Buddhas and '550 *jātaka*' in less than one month.[25] There are also references to the dedication of the *Tipiṭaka* and the cost of its reproduction. These records reveal the sophisticated social organisation and division of labour in society. In terms of their detail, there is nothing to match them among the Pāla inscriptions.

Pagan probably had diplomatic, commercial and religious connections with the entire east coast of India, and one inscription demonstrates that south Indian traders were present at Pagan.[26] A bronze attributed to Burma was purportedly found in Kanchipuram.[27] Buddhism was present at Nāgapaṭṭinam and other sites on the east coast even in the 15th century, as the Kalyāṇi inscription informs us. Scholars

have perhaps concentrated too keenly on finding Pāla sources for Pagan's art when, in fact, a great deal may have come from Buddhist sites on the east coast, in Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu.

The fact that the Pāli *Tipiṭika* and post-canonical Sinhalese texts were known (and copied) at Pagan suggests the deep religious influence of Sri Lanka. In the Myinkābu Kubyauk-gyi temple is an ink inscription that even refers to a contemporary Sinhalese king, Vijayabāhu I.[28] Another inscription refers to four unspecified relics presented to the Burmese king from Sri Lanka.[29] Surprisingly little Sinhalese artistic evidence emerges at Pagan and although certain *stūpa* are thought to resemble those in Sri Lanka, this connection has not been systematically worked out. The overall interpretation of the contact between Sri Lanka and Burma has been clouded by the Chronicle and the 15th-19th century Kalyāṇi inscription. Both describe Sinhalese influence and schisms at Pagan, but they cannot be confirmed. In later centuries the Burmese and Mon were keen to link ancient Burma with India and Sri Lanka, generally at the expense of veracity.

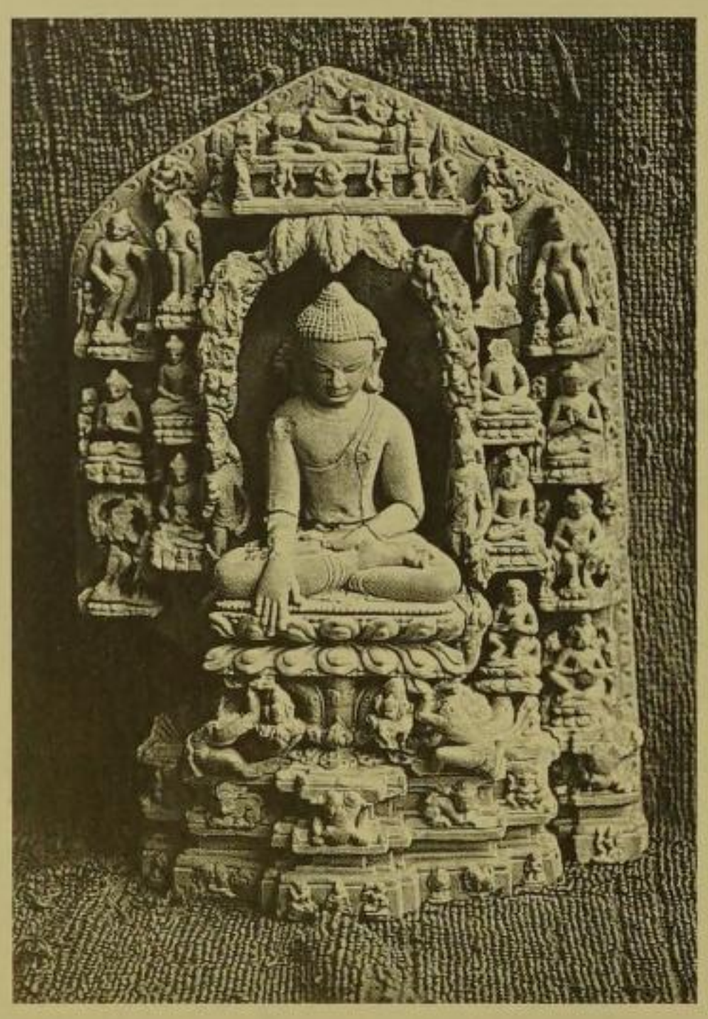


Fig. 4 Seated Buddha, 'Andagu' Sculpture, Pagan Museum

One clear example of Sinhalese influence is the attention paid in Burma to a seven-week period that the Buddha spent at Bodh Gaya.[30] A similar tradition is also known from Sanskrit sources, such as the *Lalitavistāra*, but it never achieved the same importance as it did in Theravāda countries such as Burma, Thailand and Sri Lanka.[31] The theme is depicted on many of the small stone *andagu* plaques, on which small seated and standing figures appear immediately beside the Buddha on the inner registers; the outer registers contain miniature figures devoted to the standard Eight Great Events (Fig. 4). Significantly, images of all the events related to these seven weeks depicted as one group are unknown in Pāla India, strongly suggesting a Sinhalese textual source. This is also a strong argument for believing that *andagu* plaques depicting the seven weeks were made in Burma.[32] The three legendary Buddhas preceding Śākyamuni and the Buddha of the future, Metteyya, were important as a group at Pagan. Special pentagonal temples, treated by Pierre Pichard,[33] testify to a unique architectural concept that emphasised these five Buddhas. A tradition of venerating the Twenty-eight Buddhas is also known at Pagan. By and large, these themes are common to the Theravāda Buddhists and are probably a further example of Sinhalese influence.

The role of Hinduism at Pagan has been largely overlooked, since it does not appear in the Chronicle, and little Hindu art survives (prejudice toward Indians has persisted from the colonial period when Indians dominated government and commerce). Brahmanical advisors and astrologers, however, stood at the centre of the city's court life, and rites not deliberately governed by Buddhist traditions were in the hands of Brahmins. Brahmanical influence at court also remained strong until the collapse of the Burmese monarchy in the late 19th century. Had Burma never been colonised, these Hindu elements in society would have played a role similar to the one they continue to play in Thailand where they exist side by side with Buddhism.

The consecration of Kyanzittha's royal palace colourfully demonstrates how Hindu priests made themselves indispensable. This ceremony is described in an 11th century inscription preserved on two stone pillars,[34] and traces of the palace foundation have survived. Viṣṇu, known as 'Nar' (the shortened Mon word for Nārāyaṇa, an epithet of Viṣṇu) was repeatedly invoked at the consecration. The ethnic origins of the Brahmin 'house-builders' and astrologers is unstated. Future research, however, may be able to trace the rather precise descriptions of the building and its consecration back to specific northern or southern Indian architectural manuals.

Kyanzittha traced his descent to both Hindu and Buddhist India. He is described as a merchant acting on behalf of the Buddha Kāssapa who resided at Sarnath. He was later reborn as King of Patna and subsequently into the family of King Rāma in the city of 'Oude' (Ayodhyā). At the time of Śākyamuni he was born as the sage Viṣṇu. The Buddha then prophesied to Ānanda that Viṣṇu would build a city known as Śri Kṣetra. Viṣṇu would leave Śri Kṣetra 1,630 years after the Buddha's death and then appear at Pagan where he would be reborn as King Kyanzittha.[35]

The only temple at Pagan focusing exclusively on Hindu deities is located in the core area inside the old city walls. In the sanctum there was once an enormous stucco tableau depicting Viṣṇu recumbent on the serpent Śeṣa. This subject, common in India, invariably includes a lotus emerging from Viṣṇu's navel which supports a seated figure of Brahma. At Pagan, however, three lotuses emerge from the navel, each supporting a deity; from left to right these are Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva. This strange configuration is also found on a recently discovered stone panel at Pagan, on stone work from Śrī Kṣetra and sculpture in the Thaton region.[36]

Was the shrine used by Hindu traders at Pagan, by kings and nobles for special rituals, or by both? Was this iconography a misunderstanding of Indian models, did it conform to an insignificant or poorly known tradition in eastern India, or did it reflect indigenous religious notions?[37] That this variation on the standard Indian Viṣṇu-Śeṣa theme was so widespread in Burma suggests a surprising cultural hegemony.

This solitary Hindu temple, the Nat-Hluang-Kyaung (Fig. 5), raises just a few of the enigmatic questions surrounding Pagan. It is clear, however, that the city of Pagan drew from diverse influences and created a unique civilisation. The overwhelming artistic source was eastern India, but Sri Lanka provided a key religious ingredient. But how did the Burmese really evaluate these various distinct foreign sources? Why were some outside elements given more weight than others? Were these influences put into mutually exclusive mental compartments, as we are apt to do today, or was there more fluidity? The Pagan elites who patronised temples probably saw little reason to compare the differences between Mahāyāna thought from India and the subtleties of the *Abhi damma* in the Pāli canon. Although the Buddhism at Pagan leaned largely towards Theravāda traditions, Pāla artistic influences, based mainly on Mahāyāna, dominated.

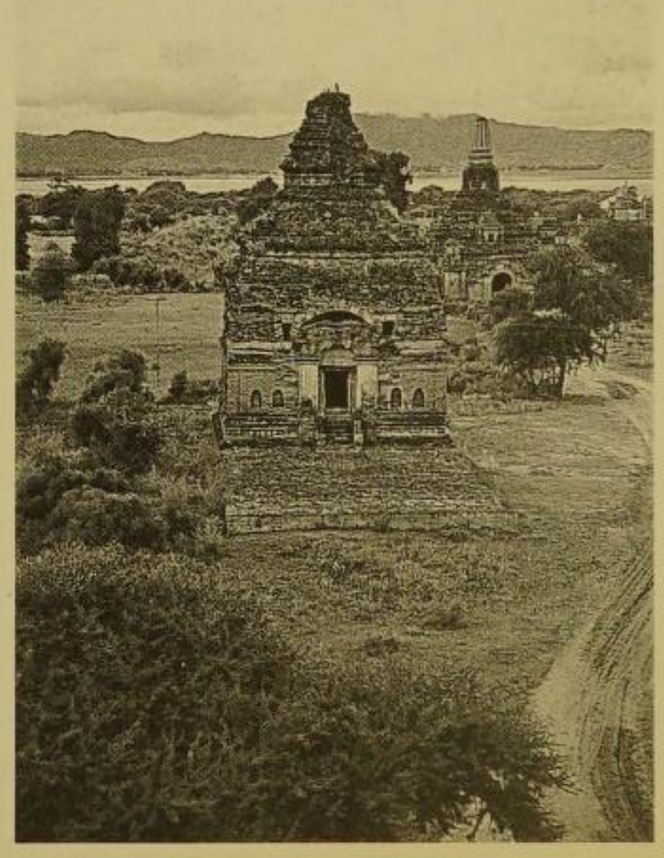


Fig. 5 Nat-hlaung-kyaung Temple, Pagan

By the 16th and 17th centuries, the earlier sources of Burmese sculpture and painting had been entirely forgotten. Later frescos at Pagan, such as at the Upāli Thein or the Ānanda Temple Monastery, reveal a completely different aesthetic norm, one that was indigenous and fresh.

The overwhelming concern among the Pagan elites, in addition to retaining their political and economic power, was to be reborn to witness the Buddha of the Future or to achieve Buddhahood. Patronising lavish temples was a straightforward way of achieving this end. While this notion may seem unsuited to modern thought, the resulting patronage of temples produced a legacy that we enjoy with both our eyes and minds. The hundreds of abandoned and ruined shrines forcefully reminds us of one of Buddhism's great truths – impermanence. For 300 years, however, the Three Jewels shone brightly. Indeed, it is arguably the greatest material commitment to the faith that the world has ever witnessed. The poor women selling pots at Pagan may never have achieved riches in this life, as their king Kyanzittha promised in his inscription, but they certainly went to their deaths believing that their modest donations assured them a better life in their next birth.

END NOTES

1 Chimpa, L. and Alaka C. (trans.) 1970: p. 349.
2 See Cooler, R. and Pichard, P. 1996: pp 760-764; and also entries under "Burma" in Turner J. (ed.) 1996: Dictionary of Art, vol. 5, pp 220-240; and Pierre Pichard's invaluable, *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan* (Pichard 1992-96: vols. I-VI).
3 Tin, Pe Maung and Luce, G.H. (trans.) 1923.
4 Lieberman, V. 1986: vol. XVII, p. 236.
5 Luce, G.H. 1921: pp 121-2.
6 Aung Thwin, M. 1985.
7 Tun, Than 1940: LXI, pts. 1-2, pp 123-124.
8 Luce, G. H. 1969-1970: 3 vols.
9 Crawfurd, M. 1834: pp 105ff.
10 Stadtner, D. M. 1998: pp 43-47.
11 Tun, Than 1959: XLII, pt. 2, pp 99-118; Frasch, T. 1996: pp 115-144.
12 *Epigraphia Birmanica*, vol. III, pt. I, pp 35-37.
13 Aung Thwin, M. 1985.
14 Tun, Than 1959: pp 70-72.
15 *Epigraphia Birmanica*, vol. I, pt. II, pp 120, 123.
16 Cooler, R. and Pichard P. 1996: pp 760-764.
17 For an excellent discussion of the connections between Pala India and Burma, see Huntington, S. L. and Huntington, J. C. 1989: pp 197-205. Brown, R. L.1988: pp 101-124.
18 See Brown, R. L. 1988: figs 11 and 12; Leoshko, J. 1990: pp 185-188; and Bautze-Picron, C. (forthcoming).
19 Pichard, P. (forthcoming).
20 Stadtner, D. M. 1988: pl. 267. For an eleventh-century *thanka* that raises many of these connections, see Singer, J. C. 1994: LIV,1/2, pp 96-108.
21 Guy, J. 1995: pp 163-169.
22 Leoshko, J. 1990. See also Bautze-Picron, C. 1992.
23 A standing Pagan-style Buddha made by this technique belongs to the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco. I wish to thank Forrest McGill for kindly sharing with me the metallurgical report that was prepared by Dr. Peter Northover, University of Oxford. Until more Burmese bronzes have been tested, it will be difficult to assess if this technique was commonly employed.
24 Tun, Than 1940: pp 127-142.
25 Tun, Than, 1940: p. 140.
26 *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of Burma*, 1902-1903, p. 7.
27 Guy, J. 1995: fig. 4.
28 Shin, Ba and Luce, G. H. 1961: p. 393.
29 Tun, Than, 1940: p. 118.
30 The 'seven weeks' at Bodh Gaya began with the Enlightenment, which occurred on the seventh day of the first week. The second week was devoted to gazing at the Bodhi tree without blinking, and the third walking to and fro on a jewelled walkway. The fourth week was spent inside a jewelled house created by the gods. The following week the Buddha moved to a seat beneath the shepherd's tree, where he resisted the temptations of Māra's three beautiful daughters. In the sixth week the Buddha was protected by the snake king Mucalinda, and the seventh culminated in the Buddha presenting his own 'hair relics' to two travelling merchants, and receiving a special alms bowl from the Guardians of the Four Directions.

    Only the temptation of Māra's daughters and the Enlightenment scene are commonly portrayed in Pāla art, although occasionally the scene with Mucalinda is also depicted. Although the depiction of the events of the seven weeks is derived from a Burmese practice, a similar tradition is also known from Sanskrit literary sources. These events are never represented in Indian art, and no known Pāla examples represent all seven scenes as a single group. At Pagan, these seven weeks are illustrated on the inner register of the *andagu* plaques, and they are flanked in the outer register by the Eight Great Events. The theme of the seven weeks is more important in Theravāda countries that use Pāli texts, and it is probable that this form of representation was influenced by the Sri Lankan tradition.
31 Stadtner, D. M. 1991: 73, 1, pp 39-52.
32 A small fragment of an *andagu* has been excavated at Sarnath. The fact that it features the theme of the seven weeks strongly implies that it was an import from Burma; see *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1904-05, p. 85, fig. 8. This fragment is displayed at the Sarnath museum.
33 Pichard, P. 1991.
34 *Epigraphia Birmanica*, vol. III, pt. I.
35 *Epigraphia Birmanica*, vol. I, pt. II, pp 90-129. This lineage is expressed in a number of epigraphs, but the Shwezigon Pagoda inscription is the fullest.
36 Ray, N. 1932.
37 A single bronze image of Viṣṇu-Śeṣa, probably from eastern India, also depicts the same three deities emerging on three separate lotuses; see Pratapaditya P. 1981: vol. XXIV, pp 6-68, fig. 22.

蒲甘的三寶

Don Stadtner

蒲甘的寺廟提供極為豐富的十一至十三世紀的宗教和藝術資料。例如在當地可見到東印度、尼泊爾和西藏壁畫中所描述的大乘菩薩和密宗大師。而在另一方面，一些寺廟的牆壁上則繪寫巴利文經書，以及僧伽羅編年大史的題材。這種多樣性的藝術形式導致了很多迄今尚未能回答的問題，例如蒲甘地區的僧伽與其他宗派有何區別？此外，學者們還沒有認識到梵摩思想及儀式對蒲甘地區的巨大影響，而事實上當時上層社會的生活受影響很大。

蒲甘地區的豐富銘刻資料很少提到教派事務。這裡唯一記載的佛教教派是在十三世紀才興起的，名為“森林居民”的教派。雖然蒲甘地區從斯里蘭卡引進了很多宗教思想，但它們的藝術淵源卻來自印度巴利時期。

蒲甘的繪畫、雕塑和金屬工藝分別沿著不同的方向發展，但它們均是基礎於東印度的傳統。繪畫自始至終都和巴利傳統緊密聯繫，但在十三世紀末蒲甘晚期時，青銅和雕塑藝術已經遠離了這些傳統。

（佛教三寶是“佛、法、僧”）

A New Look at Old Dates: Dating Controversies in Thai Art

Krairiksh Piriya

The following questions are fundamental to art historical studies: What is the object? Who made it? Where and when was it made? Since an object is produced in a certain location at a given time, the correct identifications of the place and time of its manufacture are essential to its placement within a culture. Correct attributions are crucial to our understanding of the past, especially in a culture such as Thailand which lacks dependable written records – for the period prior to the 19th century Thailand has to rely on archaeology and art history for the reconstruction of her civilisation. Changes in dating therefore present more than alternative points of view, they require a reassessment of our perception of Thai art.

There are two schools of thought on the matter: the traditionalists who uphold the datings proposed by George Coedès and H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab in 1926; and the revisionists as represented by this writer. Whereas the former find the traditional periodization satisfactory as it is and work within its framework, the latter question the assumptions underlying its validity and seek to rectify it.

Granted that Prince Damrong and George Coedès had no training in art history, they did the best they could under the circumstances. Nevertheless, their methodology leaves much to be desired. Take for example their periodizations of Thai Buddha images, beginning with those identified as of the "early Chiang Saen period."

According to Coedès, the name Chiang Saen was chosen because the images found in the vicinity of the town of Old Chiang Saen appeared to be more beautiful and earlier than those from other towns.[1] They consist mainly of bronze figures seated with crossed legs (*vajrāsana*) on a lotus base, in the *māravijaya-mudrā* posture of subduing *māras* or personifications of temptation. These figures have a stout body and a well developed chest, and the monastic robe terminates above the left nipple. Their faces are round, and they have arched eyebrows, large hair curls and a radiance resembling a lotus bud. The prototypes for these figures are Indian images from Bihar under the Pāla dynasty (8th-12th centuries). However, Thai craftsmen did not receive Pāla influences directly from India, but through Pagan in Burma, since by the time the Thais became powerful in northern Thailand in the 13th century, the Pāla dynasty had already declined.

Coedès's methodology, therefore, was to group together images sharing similar characteristics and to name them on the basis of their common provenance. He compared the group to a similar type of image with a known date in order to arrive at an approximate dating. Coedès assumed that the images in the group were all made within the time frame that he had allotted them, and thus his nomenclature represents the collective artistic production of a region at a given time. For Coedès, an artistic school had the same connotation as the time period in which it flourished and therefore the two were interchangeable. Hence he uses the term '*école*' (school) in the French edition of his book on the Bangkok National Museum,[2] whereas '*samai*' (period) is used in the Thai language edition of the same work.[3] A periodization thus formulated serves as a handy guide to dating, since anyone can date a Buddha image if its characteristics can be identified.

Unfortunately, this methodology cannot be a applied to the dating of images of the Buddha, since each is a replica of a well-known prototype. The stylistic similarities between the images to which Coedès assigns the name "École de Xieng Sèn" cannot be attributed to a common geographical background, nor

can they be assigned to the "early Chiang Saen period" because they were made at a certain time, since this type of image is found not only in northern, but also in central and southern, Thailand. Indeed, Coedès himself remarked that Buddha images in Nakhon Si Thammarat, the Thai town furthest away from Chiang Saen, very closely resemble "early Chiang Saen" images in every way.[4] He accounts for their similarity by attributing them to a common influence from Pāla India. The name "Chiang Saen" is both arbitrary and subjective, chosen because the author felt that, on the basis of their beauty, the images found at Chiang Saen must be earlier than those found elsewhere. The names " Ecole de Xieng Sèn" and the "early Chiang Saen period" thus represent a geographic region at a given moment in time.

Although both Coedès and Prince Damrong knew that an image of the Buddha could be a copy of another, neither realised that each image in their "early Chiang Saen" group was a replica of the Sihing Buddha. Evidence of this is provided by three inscribed images belonging to the group, one from Chiang Mai and cast in 470,[5] another cast in 1569 from Fang,[6] and the third from Samut Sakhon in central Thailand and cast in 1689.[7] Since all claim to be images of Sihing, and each image duplicates the characteristics of its prototype, it is reasonable to assume that the "early Chiang Saen" type represents the Sihing image. Each Buddha image duplicates the characteristics of its prototype, and such characteristics give the Sihing image its uniqueness and distinguish it from other types of Buddha images. Thus, wherever and whenever a Sihing image was cast, it retains its own identity to this day. An image of Buddha therefore defies spatial and temporal categorisations because it transcends both space and time.

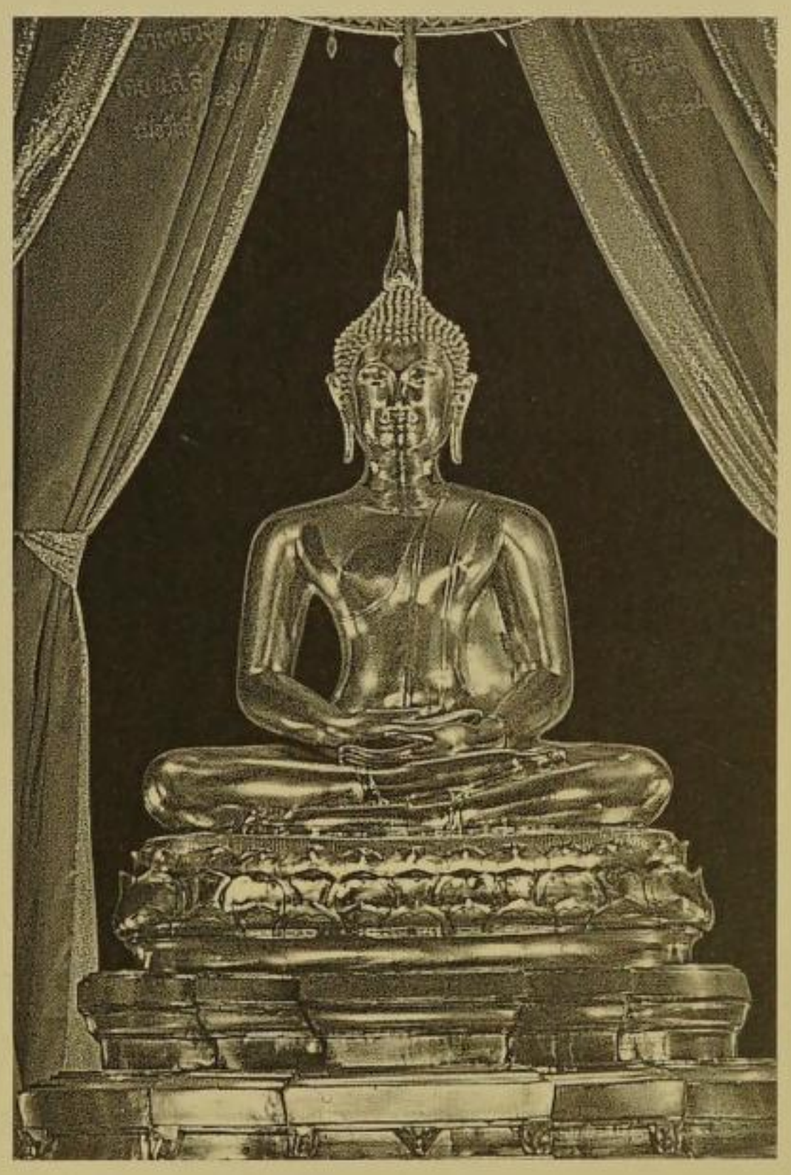


Fig. 1 "Sihing" Image in the Bangkok National Museum

Having classified a large and important group of Buddha images from northern Thailand as belonging to the "early Chiang Saen period", Coedès then groups together images from the cities of Sukhothai, Sawankhalok, Phitsanulok and Kamphaeng Phet, all located in north-central Thailand, as from the "Sukhothai period", which flourished in the second half of the 13th century. The images are all seated with the right leg folded over the left (*paryaṅkāsana*), the end of the monastic robe extends to the navel and the hem is shaped like flames. Coedès attributes these changes to influences from Sri Lanka.

When King Ram Khamhaeng of Sukhothai expanded his territory to the north and south, Sukhothai images were also disseminated into these regions. Craftsmen in Chiang Saen and Chiang Mai ceased to make "early Chiang Saen" images and changed over to the "Sukhothai" type. Coedès thus assigns the term "later Chiang Saen period" to northern Thai images demonstrating "Sukhothai" characteristics.

Coedès chose the so-called Sihing image in the Bangkok National Museum to illustrate how the 'Sukhothai' Buddha influenced northern Thai images (Fig. 1).[8] According to the legend of the Sihing image, it miraculously arrived in Nakhon Si Thammarat from Sri Lanka in the mid 13th century. It was taken to Sukhothai, Ayutthaya, Kamphaeng Phet, Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Chiang Saen and back to Chiang Mai, where, with the exception of a brief sojourn in Laos in the mid 16th century, it remained until 1662 when it was taken to Ayutthaya. It was assumed that after they sacked Ayutthaya in 1767, the Burmese returned the image to Chiang Mai. In 1795, King Rāma I's brother brought a Sihing image back from his campaign in Chiang Mai and installed it in his palace, now the Bangkok National Museum. As a result of the 'Sukhothai' influence, Coedès believed that the Bangkok National Museum Sihing

image was a fair copy of the Sihalapatima of the legend.

Since inscriptional evidence indicates that copies of the Sihalapatima are the type of Buddha classified by Coedès as "early Chiang Saen",[9] the original image must have belonged to the same group. Coedès' claim that the Bangkok National Museum Sihing image was a copy of the Sihalapatima therefore has to be rejected because of the 'Sukhothai' influence. On the other hand, had he proposed that it could be a replica of the Emerald Buddha, his proposal would have been given greater consideration.

Fig. 2 Phrā Phuttha Busaya Ratana in the Royal Collection, Bangkok

Apart from the fact that it is carved from a block of jadeite, the Emerald Buddha is distinguishable by its iconography. The figure is seated in the *paryaṅkāasana* position with his hands in the gesture of meditation, and his monastic robe extends to the navel. He has a cup-shaped cranial protuberance (*uṣṇīṣa*) topped by gem-shaped finial. The Bangkok National Museum Sihing image shares all of the above characteristics, except that there is a flame-shaped finial. Since the finial is removable, it is possible that it is a replacement for one in the form of a lotus bud, which would have made the image resemble the Emerald Buddha even more closely.

The Sihing and Emerald Buddha images are the two most important images of the Sihalabhikkhu sect, which was established at Sukhothai in 1426 and at Chiang Mai in 1430.[10] The story of the Sihing image is told in the *Sihinganidana* written in Chiang Mai in the first half of the 15th century at the command of Buddhasagara Thera, a monk of the Sihalabhikkhu sect. The *Ratanabimbavaṃśa*, the story of the Emerald Buddha, was written by the *bhikkhu* Brahmarājapaññā in the second half of the same century. The stories of these two images are retold at length in the *Jinakalāmāli*, completed in 1527 by Ratanapanna Thera, a Sihalabhikkhu monk, at Wat Pa Daeng in Chiang Mai.

The proselytising efforts of the new sect in Chiang Mai during the 15th century led to the mass production of Sihing Buddhas. Indeed, two thirds of extant images cast in the reign of King Tilok (1441-1487) belong to the Sihing image type.[11] In contrast, few copies of the Emerald Buddha were produced, probably because the original was made from a rare and costly material which deterred imitators. Most existing copies are carved from rock crystal, the finest example of which is an image named Phrā Phuttha Busaya Ratana in the Royal Collection, Bangkok (Fig. 2). The Bangkok National Museum does, however, have several bronze copies in its collection. Although its 'Sihing image' cannot be considered a close copy of the Emerald Buddha, it is an extremely fine image in its own right and, judging by the style of its lotus base, may have been cast in Chiang Mai at the beginning of the 16th century.

Coedès' "Sukhothai period" Buddhas are more problematic than those ascribed to the "early Chiang Saen period" because of their mixed provenances and stylistic variations. As early as 1926 Prince Damrong divided the former into three groups.[12] In chronological order these groups are:

1. The early group: The images generally have round faces after the fashion of Sinhalese Buddhas, such as the Aṭṭharasa image in Wat Saket, Bangkok, the original provenance of which is Phitsanulok.

2. The middle group: Once artisans had become more skilful, they developed a new type of image with a longer face and pointed chin, like the "Phra Ruàng" image at the Phra Pathom Chedi in Nakhon Pathom, and the presiding image in the ordination hall of Wat Parinayok in Bangkok. There are more images in this group than in the early group.

3. The later group: A new type of image was created because of King Mahādharmarāja's (Li Thai, r. 1347-1374?) desire to make as perfect an image of the Buddha as possible. As exemplified by the Jinarāja image at Phitsanulok, the face is shaped like a bael-fruit and both hands have fingers of equal length. This type of Buddha image was much imitated in both the north and south, but none is as beautiful as the original.

Prince Damrong's groupings served as a model on which A. B. Griswold bases his studies of the "Sukhothai period" images. He takes over where Prince Damrong and Coedés left off by advocating a Western art historical approach to such images. He thus postulates a "high classic" style, exemplified by the Walking Buddhas which are "the most characteristic and original creations of Sukhodaya art",[13] followed by the "post classic", such as the Jinarāja image, which in Griswold's words do "not quite match the high classic".[14] His evaluation is based on whether or not an image possesses the qualities of Buddha, which he defines as the "calmness of his inner being" that "shows up in the fluid modelling and undulating line, unobstructed by any tension of feature", "the fullness of his personality", and the "fiery energy", all of which are lacking in the Jinarāja image. Griswold's passionate eloquence is evident in the following passage:

> The oval of the face has become rounder, the cheeks more full. Is not the sweetness of the expression something of an anticlimax after the spiritual vitality of the high classic? The contours of the body are more static than flowing; what the modelling has gained in honeyed softness it has lost in vigour. Jinarāja and its companion pieces are finer expressions of deep tranquility than of religious energy. The tongue of flame attached to the top of the head springs from no inner fire.[15]

In terms of dating, Griswold equates the "high classic period" with "Sukhōdaya's political greatness and material greatness and material prosperity – perhaps chiefly in the first half of the 14th century". The Jinarāja image dates from the second half of the 14th century, and images influenced by the Jinarāja, which Griswold calls the "late Biṣṇulōka group", date from the 15th century.[16]

Griswold accepts that there are many unclassified groups, which he attributes to geographical variations, inferior examples of the "high classic" and "post-classic" images, or "aberrant types", resulting from the copying and recopying of unusual images. Among the "aberrant types", he singles out those with the characteristics of the "Sihing image" type and correctly dates them to the late 15th and 16th centuries because of the popularity of such images in northern Thailand during this period.[17] By correlating art historical research and epigraphic studies of Sukhothai period inscriptions, Griswold manages to date most of the "aberrant types" in his *Towards A History of Sukhodaya Art*.[18] Although basically his methodology is sound, the results are flawed. Because the author had relied on Prince Damrong's and Coedès' conceptual framework, Griswold continues to perpetuate their mistakes and contributes more errors of his own.

Fig. 3 Stucco Walking Buddha Wat Mahathat in ancient Sawankhalok

One of the main problems with the dating of Buddha images from north and north-central Thailand is that, with the exceptions of the Jinarāja, the Emerald Buddha and the

Sihing images, it is not yet possible to identify their prototypes. Another reason is the lack of literary sources from which they can be identified. One therefore has to rely on associated evidence for dating stucco Buddha images, such as the date of buildings, since unlike free-standing figures, stucco images can be dated in relation to the building on which they are modelled.

This writer has shown that the stucco walking Buddha at Wat Mahāthat in Old Sawankhalok (present day Chalieng), which Griswold suggested "may be an idealised portrait of Râm Kamhèng towards the end of his reign",[19] may date from the mid 18th century (Fig. 3).[20] The stucco walking Buddhas in Wat Chedi Chet Thaeo in Old Sawankhalok (present day Si Satchanalai), and the stucco walking Buddha, representing the Descent from Tavatimsa Heaven, at Wat Traphang Thonglang in Sukhothai, may also date to the same period.[21] These new datings for some examples of Griswold's "high classic style" images reveal that, contrary to conventional wisdom, the Sukhothai "high classic" images do not date from King Li Thai's reign (mid 14th century), but to the mid 18th century, the period of Ayutthaya's political greatness and material prosperity. Hence an image in the "high classic style" cannot be taken as an example of the art of the Kingdom of Sukhothai at the time of its political peak, but should instead be regarded as an example of a provincial Ayutthayan style.

Portable bronze images are much more difficult to date. A case in point is a seated Buddha from the Art Institute of Chicago. It is labelled "Buddha Śākyamuni, Thailand, Sukhothai period, 14th century", presumably because of its *paryaṅkāsana* position, *māravijaya* posture, the fact that the robe extends to the navel, and the presence of a flame-shaped radiance. Since its provenance is not given, we cannot distinguish it from the images classified by Coedès as "later Chiang Saen period", because they share similar iconography. For example, there are so many variants of the flame-shaped radiance in both schools that it cannot be used as an indicator. Furthermore, the broken base deprives us of another identifiable factor that differentiates a Sukhothai-style image from those of northern Thailand. Today, however, with the aid of technical analyses, it is possible to categorise an image cast in Sukhothai or in northern Thailand by the composition of its clay core[22] and the metal alloys. Whereas 14th-15th century Sukhothai images contain a high percentage of lead, there is no zinc, although zinc is present in northern Thai images.[23] Unfortunately, this image has not been tested, so identification has to be made on stylistic grounds.

The characteristics that clearly distinguish the Chicago image from most Sukhothai Buddhas are its physiognomy and the arrangement of the hair curls. Both features place it among a group of images made in Chiang Mai towards the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries.[24] One of these images bears an inscription giving the names of its founders, one of whom was the Saṅgharāja Abhayaśārada, the Abbot of Wat Pa Daeng who headed the Sihalabhikkhu sect.[25] Regrettably, we do not know the name of the image that served as the prototype for the Chicago figure. However, we can infer that it probably had the iconography of, for want of a better term, a "Sukhothai" style Buddha since the latter were popular among the adherents of the Sihalabhikkhu sect. Hence the Chicago image should be labelled: "Northern Thailand, or Lan Na, late 15th-early 16th centuries".

From the above discussion it can be seen that the traditional datings, based on the periodizations of Prince Damrong and Coedès, may once have been useful, but have now outlived their time. Their underlying conceptual errors have led art historians to propose wild hypotheses on non-existent schools and periods. These mistakes have generated more confusion than clarification. Even more damaging to the course of Thai art history is the fact that every student of Thai art has been taught to think in terms of traditional periodization, and it is now difficult to think otherwise. For example, when the "high classic style" group of images is removed from its traditional context of the "Sukkhothai period", there is a void to be filled because no research has been conducted outside of that framework.

The periodizations of Prince Damrong and Coedès have created a false complacency, and the impression that we can date every building and Buddha image by using their rules of thumb. We can be proud of our past achievements as we point to the monuments of Sukhothai and Si Satchanalai as examples of 14th century architecture, but when that proverbial rug was pulled from under our feet, we lost our sense of composure. As we struggle to regain our balance, we must make sure that this time we stand on firmer ground.

END NOTES

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4 Coedès, G. 1928: p. 31.
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6 Penth, H. 1976: pp 154-157.
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12 Damrong Rajanubhab, Prince, Sivalaksa S. and Griswold, A.B. (trans.) 1973: p. 22.
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20 Krairiksh, P. 1997: p. 16.
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22 Woodward, H. W. 1997: p. 271.
23 Woodward, H. W. 1997: p. 279.
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泰國藝術的斷代問題

Krairiksh Piriya

Damrong Rajanubhab 王子與 George Coedès 在一九二六年，曾經對泰國藝術斷代問題作出研究，可惜由於概念上的錯誤，他們的研究工作在開始時便出現缺陷。兩人都套用西方藝術史的方法，來研究泰國佛陀造像的斷代，並認為由不同年代、居住於不同地區的工匠便製造出不同風格的造像。他們因而給各組造像冠以不同的生產中心名稱，如 Chiang Saen 和 Sukhothai；這樣分類既代表生產的地理位置，又代表生產的時代。他們沒有注意到佛陀的肖像是一個受高度尊崇的複製品，工匠會直接模仿前期的造像，因此不少造像便出現相似的風格。基於這種緣故，佛陀的形像是不能在這基礎上進行分類的。然而，一些學者卻嘗試在一兩個已訂定的綱要上進行分類，結果是他們的斷代與本文作者所主張的年代相差可達四百年，Griswold 的“古典盛期”便是其中一個例子。

關於克孜爾石窟的年代

馬世長

在西域古代美術的研究中，龜茲的佛教石窟佔有極為重要的地位，一向為學術界所關注。古代的龜茲，在今新疆塔里木盆地北緣的庫車、拜城、新和等縣一帶，境內遺存的佛教石窟為數甚夥，其著名者當推克孜爾石窟和庫木吐剌石窟。此外還有森木塞姆石窟、克孜爾尕哈石窟、瑪札巴哈石窟、台台兒石窟、蘇巴什石窟、溫巴什石窟、吐火拉克埃肯石窟等十餘處中小石窟，洞窟總數超過500個。克孜爾石窟現存編號洞窟236個，洞窟類型齊備，洞窟組合關係清晰，壁畫遺存宏豐，在藝術表現形式上亦俱有鮮明的地域特色，是龜茲石窟的典型代表。

和中原地區的佛教石窟不同，克孜爾石窟的開鑿年代既沒有文獻記載，洞窟本身也沒有發現直接的紀年資料。因此克孜爾石窟的年代學研究，由於缺少確定的年代標尺，學者們的研究和認識便產生了分歧和差距，迄今尚無定論。這為以後的繼續研究，留下了可以深入探討的空間。換言之，關於克孜爾石窟的年代學研究，仍然是今後有待繼續深入的重要研究課題。

關於克孜爾石窟的年代和分期，主要是德國學者和中國學者提出來的。由於對克孜爾石窟內涵、時代特徵的認知和研究方法的差異，其結論自然亦就不能完全一致。現將幾種有代表性的見解，簡要說明如下。

德國人格倫威德爾 (Albert Grünwedel) 和勒柯克 (Albert von Le Coq)，1906年和1913年均曾率考察隊在克孜爾石窟進行長時間的調查、測量、記錄、拍照、鉤畫白描圖。並將那些保存完好、繪製精美的壁畫從洞窟中切割下來，運往德國。據統計共有252塊，328.07 m^2。這些壁畫，現今保存在德國柏林印度藝術博物館 (Museum für Indische Kunst)。格倫威德爾和勒柯克均對克孜爾石窟的年代提出過個人看法，但他們對年代的判斷並不一致。

格氏將新疆地區的佛教石窟壁畫，按繪畫風格劃分為五種，認為五種畫風前後年代相連接。他將克孜爾石窟的壁畫歸入第一、二種畫風，年代較早。屬於第一種畫風的洞窟有：第76、77、83、84、92、167、207、212和149窟旁的一窟。年代早者在四世紀中葉，83、84窟在五世紀中葉。屬於第二種畫風的洞窟有：第4、7、8、17、38、58、63、67、80、114、123、192、198、205、206、219、224窟等。這類洞窟的年代在五世紀中葉以後，其最晚者到七至八世紀。格氏將第一種畫風稱犍陀羅畫風，認為此種畫風受到印度壁畫的影響。

勒氏基本同意格氏的五種畫風的劃分，不過他認為149窟旁的洞窟時間最早，該窟壁畫受到希臘藝術的強烈影響。他歸入第一種畫風的洞窟有：第76、83、84、110、118、207和212窟，時間推定在六、七世紀。他歸入第二種畫風的洞窟有：8、205、67、175–190窟，時間推定在公元700年前後。他推斷，克孜爾石窟在八世紀中葉已經廢棄。勒氏的年代推斷與格氏的年代推斷，明顯存在差異。特別是第一種畫風洞窟的年代，勒氏較格氏晚一百多年。

瓦爾德施密特 (E. Waldschmidt) 二十年代至三十年代在柏林民俗博物館 (Museum für Vulkerkunde) 亞洲部工作，他根據館中收藏的克孜爾石窟壁畫和格氏、勒氏的考察記錄資料，對克孜爾石窟的壁畫從藝術風格的角度進行了新的研究。瓦氏認為，克孜爾石窟的壁畫，受到犍陀羅雕塑藝術的影響。根據畫風他將克孜爾石窟劃分為兩期，即第一種畫風洞窟和第二種畫風洞窟。歸入第一種畫風的洞窟有：第207、118、76、117、77、212窟，屬於此種畫風的旁系

洞窟還有83、84窟。他將此類洞窟的年代，推定在公元500年前後。歸入第二種畫風的洞窟有：67、198、199、110和129窟，年代推定在600年前後。其後的114、38、205、224、7、206和13窟以及8、219、3、4、63、58和178、175、181窟，年代推定在公元600–650年。最晚的洞窟有：123、185、184、188窟，年代推定在公元650年以後。

瓦氏比定的畫風年代，是參照克孜爾石窟發現的古代龜茲文寫本中字體年代擬定的。古代寫本中的字體，根據研究有三種不同的字體，其流行使用的年代不同。第二種字體，出現於六世紀，而第三種字體則出現於公元600年以後。瓦氏經對比研究認為，洞窟中壁畫的榜題文字分別屬於第二種和第三種字體，其洞窟年代和文字字體年代相一致，故認定洞窟壁畫的年代當在公元500年前後，至公元650年以後這一階段內。瓦氏根據他的壁畫畫風的區分，分別總結出兩種畫風的藝術特點和異同。瓦氏的年代新說1933年發表以後，成為印度藝術博物館對克孜爾石窟壁畫年代判定的傳統觀點，在克孜爾石窟壁畫展出說明中一直遵循至今。瓦氏的克孜爾石窟壁畫的年代結論，在西方學術界產生了廣泛的影響[1]。

綜觀德國格氏、勒氏和瓦氏三人對克孜爾石窟年代的論斷，皆從壁畫的風格方面去捕捉石窟的年代特徵。誠然，壁畫的藝術風格俱有時代特徵的因素，是研究者探討洞窟年代可資利用的物證之一。但是壁畫的風格俱有延續的階段性和年代上的不確定性，僅僅根據壁畫風格來確定洞窟的年代，難以將壁畫風格接近的洞窟相對早晚的年代序列建立起來。正因為如此，同樣利用壁畫風格確定年代，三人的結論卻有明顯的不同。這種結論的差異，削弱了以壁畫風格判斷洞窟年代論斷的可信性。克孜爾石窟有236個編號洞窟，保存有壁畫的洞窟佔三分之一，大約80個左右。格氏論及年代的洞窟僅26個，勒氏論及的洞窟也是26個。瓦氏論及的洞窟略多，也不過33個。均不到有壁畫洞窟的一半，更不用說那150個左右的無壁畫洞窟如何來比定年代了。因此我們應該尋求另外的方法，來解決克孜爾石窟的年代和分期問題。

北京大學的閻文儒教授，六十年代初調查龜茲石窟之後，對克孜爾石窟的年代亦有所論述，他將74個保存較好的石窟劃分為四期。屬於第一期的洞窟有：第17、47、48、69窟。閻氏將第一期洞窟的年代，擬定在東漢時期的最後階段，即二世紀末至三世紀初。屬於第二期的洞窟有：7、13、14、38、85、106、114、173、175、178、180、195等12個洞窟。被擬定的年代是約相當中原地區的兩晉時期，即三世紀中葉至五世紀初。屬於第三期的洞窟有：8、27、32、34、58、64、80、92、97、98、99、100、101、104、110、126、163、171、179、185、192、193、196、198、199、205、206、207、219、224等30個洞窟。此期洞窟被擬定的年代為相當中原的南北朝時期到隋代，即五世紀初到七世紀初。屬於第四期的洞窟有：第33、43、67、76、81、107、116、117、118、123、129、132、135、160、161、165、166、167、176、184、186、188、212、227、229等25個洞窟。另外屬於早期開鑿，晚期作壁畫的洞窟有：第77、189、190窟。此期洞窟被比定的年代相當中原的唐、宋時期，即七世紀初到十二世紀末。閻氏認為，克孜爾石窟有些洞窟在唐代已經廢棄了，全部廢棄當在元代以後。[2] 閻氏分期的洞窟有70多個，分期的內涵較德人的分期有較大的擴充，在年代的擬定上較多地運用中原石窟的資料作比較，亦為德人所不及。但在各期洞窟年代的具體比定中，第一期洞窟能否早到東漢末，第四期洞窟的下限能否遲至唐代以後，均有可進一步研究討論之處。

一九七九至一九八一年間，北京大學歷史系石窟考古實習組在宿白教授指導下，對克孜爾石窟谷西區西端的部份洞窟進行測繪、記錄和部份洞窟窟前遺蹟的清理，為編寫該組洞窟的考古

報告作資料準備工作。此前曾對龜茲石窟和克孜爾石窟作了較為細緻的調查和研討，並就克孜爾石窟的類型和階段劃分展開討論和研究。宿白教授撰寫了〈克孜爾部份洞窟階段劃分與年代等問題的初步探索〉[3]，運用考古學方法對克孜爾部份洞窟的分期與年代作了新的分析，提出了新的看法。洞窟的階段劃分主要是從洞窟形制、洞窟的組合關係、洞窟壁畫的內容及藝術風格幾方面進行綜合分析、排比，對克孜爾石窟的部分洞窟作了階段劃分。在探尋洞窟發展和演變規律時，特別注意了洞窟的改建和洞窟之間的打破關係，以及洞窟組合關係的形成和變化。這些洞窟變化的軌跡和洞窟之間的時間序列是確定的，也是不能變更和倒置的。它為比定某些洞窟的時間序列，提供了可信的實證。

宿氏將克孜爾洞窟劃分為三個階段。歸入第一階段的洞窟有：第38窟、13窟、47窟、6窟、80窟等。第二階段的洞窟有：第171窟、104窟、17窟、77窟、139窟、119窟、92窟、118窟、39窟、49窟、14窟等。從組合關係角度納入本階段的洞窟有：第172窟、2掷窟、103–105窟、40窟、222–224窟、96–98窟、99–101窟、34窟、198窟、135窟、76窟等。第三階段的洞窟有：第180窟、107B窟、197窟、8窟、107A窟、201窟、70窟、148窟、234窟、189窟、190窟、187窟、185窟、182窟、183窟、181窟等。以上各階段洞窟的具體年代，是參照^{14}C同位素測定洞窟年代的數據比定的。其年代區間為：

第一階段：大約接近於310±80—350±60年

第二階段：大約接近於395±65—465±65年，以迄六世紀前期；

第三階段：大約接近於545±75—685±65年及其以後。

宿氏並指出，第一階段之前，似乎還應有一個初期階段；第三階段雖然漸趨衰落，但它和庫木吐剌石窟的盛、中唐畫風洞窟之間在時間上還有一段距離。八世紀初、中期克孜爾石窟已有部份洞窟荒廢。

根據宿氏部份洞窟的階段劃分和年代的比定，可以估計克孜爾石窟的始鑿年代當在三世紀末前後，至八世紀洞窟開鑿基本停止，其鑿窟盛期在第二階段。洞窟開鑿延續時間約五百年。宿氏洞窟分期之研究，將考古學方法運用於佛教石窟的年代學研究領域，在方法論上和藝術史多從繪畫藝術風格上論定年代的方法完全不同。除了繪畫的藝術風格外，還充分注意了洞窟的形制、壁畫的佈局、洞窟組合關係的形成和變化、洞窟的重繪、改建和洞窟之間的打破關係等因素和條件，將洞窟中標示時代特徵的各種資料加以綜合分析、排比，尋找出洞窟建造的時間序列。特別是將洞窟^{14}C測定年代的數據作為擬定各階段洞窟時間跨度的參照物，增加了年代論斷的可信性。被分期的洞窟中包涵了若干無壁畫的洞窟，也是各種分期研究的論文所未涉及的。

龜茲石窟研究所的學者，根據八十年代所測定的一批克孜爾石窟的^{14}C年代數據，並結合龜茲佛教歷史背景、壁畫風格、題材內容和洞窟形制，對洞窟分期作了新的考慮，他們將洞窟劃分為四期。

第一期為初創期，時間為公元三世紀末—四世紀中。包括的洞窟有：118窟、92窟、77窟、47窟、48窟和117窟下層壁畫。

第二期為發展期，時間為公元四世紀中—五世紀末。包括的洞窟有：38窟、76窟、83窟、84窟、114窟、13窟、32窟、171窟、172窟等。

第三期為繁盛期，時間為公元六世紀—七世紀。包括的洞窟有：80窟、110窟、212窟、81窟、184窟、186窟、199窟、207窟、60窟、161窟、189窟、100窟、205窟、69窟、8

窟、3–17 窟、34 窟、101 窟、104 窟、196 窟、207 窟、219 窟等。

第四期為衰落期，時間為公元八世紀——九世紀中。包括的洞窟有：180窟、129窟、197窟、135 窟、227 窟、229 窟、107 窟等[4]。

這一分期的年代下限推定在九世紀中，是一新的意見。在分期所涉及的洞窟中，與宿氏的結論有諸多相異之處，在今後的研究中有待核查、驗證、修訂。

已有的關於克孜爾石窟年代的研究，是中外學者為解決克孜爾石窟年代問題所作進行的嘗試和探索，並取得了令人敬佩的成果。這些成果為今後的深入研究，奠定了良好的基礎，這是應該充分予以肯定的。根據我們在克孜爾石窟多年的調查和研究，發現德國學者以繪畫風格推定年代的見解，存在著致命的弱點。壁畫的繪畫風格並非每一個階段僅有一種畫風存在，往往是兩種畫風並存，而第二種畫風出現的年代要早於第一種畫風，且流行使用時間較長。因此第一種畫風早於第二種畫風的結論，就難以成立，需要推敲了。我們也清醒地意識到，克孜爾石窟的年代學研究，還有許多工作要做。學者們意見相歧異之處，正是需要進一步查證和研究的。那些無壁畫的洞窟，是克孜爾石窟的重要組成部份，也理應納入洞窟分期範疇。今後的克孜爾石窟年代研究，要探尋研究年代的新方法，發掘論證年代的新資料，運用新的科學技術，不斷擴大斷年資料的收集範圍，以增加類型學分析排比的內容。在充份佔有調查資料的基礎上，經過科學的分析和論證，克孜爾石窟的分期和年代問題，就有可能取得突破性的新成果。

本文中我們使用的克孜爾石窟編號，是中國學者在一九五三年擬定的。它和德人命名洞窟的對照關係，請參看晁華山〈二十世紀初德人對克孜爾石窟的考察及以後的研究〉一文所附對照表。

附注

1 關於德人對克孜爾石窟的年代學研究情況，可參看晁華山〈二十世紀初德人對克孜爾石窟的考察及以後的研究〉，刊《中國石窟・克孜爾石窟》三，文物出版社，1997 年 12 月。
2 參看閻文儒〈新疆天山以南的石窟〉，刊《文物》1962 年 7、8 期。
3 參看宿白〈克孜爾部份洞窟階段劃分與年代等問題的初步探索代序〉，刊《中國石窟・克孜爾石窟》一，文物出版社，1989 年 12 月。
4 參看霍旭初、王建林〈丹青斑駁千秋壯觀—克孜爾石窟壁畫藝術及分期概述〉，刊《龜茲佛教文化論集》，新疆美術攝影出版社，1993 年 6 月。

Dating of the Kizil Caves

Ma Shichang

Unlike the caves located in central China, there are no literary records of the date of the Kizil Caves in the area of ancient Kucha, along the northern fringes of the Tamlamakan desert. The absence of reliable sources has led to considerable controversy over the chronology of these caves. The author examines the research conducted in the past by the German explorers Albert von Le Coq and Albert Grünwedel, and more recent studies by mainland Chinese scholars.

After visiting the caves in 1906 and 1913, Albert Grünwedel and Albert von Le Coq both advanced theories on the chronological sequence to be found at Kizil, although their opinions differed. Grünwedel divided the caves into three categories depending on their style: Group 1 (mid-4th century); Group 2 (post mid-5th century), and Group 3 (7th-8th century). He considered that the paintings in Group 1 exhibited the influence of Gandharan art, a view shared by E. Waldschmidt who held a post in the Asian Department of the Museum of Ethnology in Berlin in the 1920s and 30s, and was able to study the wall paintings in the museum's collection. Le Coq was basically in agreement with Grünwedel. The author points out that classifying the caves solely on the basis of the paintings they contain is problematic, since extant paintings exist in only approximately one-third of the 236 caves.

Ma Shichang also discusses the work conducted by Professor Yan Wenru of Beijing University in the 1960s. Professor Yan divided 74 of the better preserved caves into four chronological stages, ranging from the late Eastern Han (2nd to 3rd century) to the late 12th century. Yan believed that some of the caves continued to be used in the Tang dynasty, and that the whole site was abandoned after the Yuan.

Between 1979 and 1981, under the directorship of Professor Su Bai of the Archaeological Fieldwork Team for Cave Temples, the Department of History, Beijing University, work was conducted in the western portion of the Kizil site. Su Bai and his team examined the shapes and compositions of the caves and the subject matter and artistic styles of the murals. Particular attention was paid to the reconstruction and linking of the various caves, and the relationship between them. As a result of his research, Professor Su Bai has grouped the caves into three stages, and the dates have been in most cases confirmed by ^{14}C testing:

Stage 1: *c.* 310±80-350±60 CE
Stage 2: *c.* 395±65-465±65 CE, until the early 6th century
Stage 3: *c.* 545±75-685±65 CE and later

The peak of cave construction ocurred during Stage 2, but the final stage proceeded well past Tang times.

Finally, the author mentions the work conducted by scholars from the Research Institute of the Kucha Caves, who have proposed a new four stage chronology. Ma Zhichang feels, however, that the results of their work and their conclusions require further investigation.

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Banners from Turfan

Chhaya Haesner

In the course of four German expeditions to Chinese Central Asia (1902-1914), five hundred and eighty banners and banner fragments, were found in Turfan. These are now in the collections of the Museum of Indian Art, Berlin (MIK). Ten such banners and banner fragments have been selected for the current exhibition in order to give a bird's-eye view of the subject. Banners mentioned in this article but not included in the exhibition are referred to by their MIK accession numbers.

The importance of Turfan

Turfan was a fertile oasis and an important trading centre situated on the main northern branch of the Silk Road between Hami and Kashgar. Successive rulers in the Turfan region – the Han and Tang dynasties, Tibetans, Uygurs and Mongols – established in turn the states of Jushi and Khocho (Gaochang), and later Xizhou (NEB vol. X, 1974, p. 191). The ruined town of Idikut-shahri or Idikut, the name given to it by Turkish Manichaean rulers (Esin 1980, p. 251), also known as "Dakianus Town", which adjoined the large village of Karakhoja, has been identified as the site of Khocho, the political centre of Turfan during the Tang dynasty and Uygur rule (Stein 1920, p. 228). As a result of the geographical conditions in Turfan, "undisturbed remains of everyday life datable within narrow chronological limits" (Stein 1920, p. 227) have been preserved.

The opening of the silk routes by Emperor Wudi had not only helped the Central Asians to establish trading and commercial links between east and west, but had also facilitated the development of spiritual and cultural contacts. The spread of Buddhism is one of the important results of the establishment of these silk routes, which could very well be designated the *Buddhamārga*, or the path of the Buddha.

The Chinese imperial envoy Wang Yen-te gives an interesting account of Turfan after paying a visit to the Uygur king in 982 (Stein 1920). According to Wang, Turfan was flourishing and the Uygur rulers were "intelligent and capable". An abundance of Buddhist "convents", the presence of Manichaean priests from Persia and evidence of Nestorian Christianity in Turfan demonstrate its rulers' tolerance towards all religions.

Buddhism and Buddhist missionaries

Exactly when Buddhism was introduced to China is not known. The mission sent by Emperor Mingdi went as far as Afghanistan and returned to Luoyang in 67 CE. It brought back not only scriptures and relics from India, but also two Indian monks named Mātaṅga and Gobharana. In 68 CE the White Horse Temple was especially built for these two monks, who translated Indian religious books into Chinese.

Amongst other Indian scholars and monks who went to China via Central Asia, Dharmagupta of Lāṭa country (modern Kathiawar in Gujarat in western India) was the most celebrated. On his way to China he stopped at various places in Central Asia – Badakshan, Wakhan, Tash Kurgan, Kashgar, Kucha, Karashahr, Turfan and Hami – and encountered flourishing Buddhist centres everywhere along the northern Silk Road. Since local scholars were eager to take advantage of the visits of Indian pandits, Dharmagupta was made to spend a year or two at each of the places he visited before finally reaching China in the year 590 (Bagchi 1981, p. 62).

With the advent of Chinese rule towards the end of the 5th century, Chinese influence became increasingly evident in Turfan, although Buddhism continued to be the religion of both the king and the people. Xuanzang passed through Turfan in 630 and Wen-t'ai, the King of Turfan and a staunch follower of the Buddha, not only gave him a warm reception and accommodated him in a monastery near his palace, but also urged him to stay in Turfan indefinitely. Although Xuanzang declined the royal offer, he stayed in Turfan for a month and delivered lectures on the doctrine of the *Prajñāpāramitā* (Bagchi 1955, p. 86).

According to Xuanzang's account, Karashahr and Aksu each had ten monasteries; the former had two thousand monks, and the latter nearly a thousand who belonged to the Sarvāstivāda school of Hīnayāna Buddhism. "It is clear that the monks of these two countries, as well as those of Turfan, in the early period, were dependent on Kucha for leadership in religious matters.... Hiuan-tsang mentions a monastery specially built for use of Buddhist converts of the country of Turfan" (Bagchi 1955, p. 85).

The archaeological finds from Central Asia, include numerous texts belonging to the Hīnayāna, Mahāyāna and Tantrayāna systems of Buddhism. In the course of their expeditions to Central Asia, Stein, Grünwedel, Le Coq and Pelliot discovered a number of Sanskrit texts, poetic works and Buddhist literature, namely, the *Udānavarga, Asvaghoṣaś Buddhacarita, Śāriputraprakaraṇa, Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, and others. Buddhist texts, Manichaean manuscripts, some with painted folios, and Uygur, Chinese, Tibetan and Soghdian texts were also found. The fragments were found in monastic sites demonstrate that their contents were known to monks and scholars in Central Asia.

Judging by the number of paintings and other finds, Buddhism was the prevailing religion in the area. The delineation of the themes is repetitive, irrespective of medium. Thus, both in murals and on textile or paper banners one finds almost the same composition, similar figural representations with the same physical features, dress and ornaments, and the same colour combinations, designs and architectural elements.

Although all three systems of Buddhism, that is, Hīnayāna, Mahāyāna, and Tantrayāna, are represented in Turfan, most of the banners are based on Mahāyāna themes. They include different manifestations of the Buddha, such as Amitābha and his Paradise, and Bhaisajyaguru and his Paradise, various forms of Bodhisattva, especially Avalokiteśvara, his *maṇḍala*, Maitreya and Kṣitigarbha either alone or sometimes with the Ten Kings of Hell, and the four Lokapāla and Dharmapāla.

Among the five hundred and eighty banners recovered from Turfan, only one belongs to Tantric Buddhism. Since there are few remaining recognisable iconographic elements, and although it does show only the upper part of a Tantric deity, it is in all probability a representation of Vajravarāhī (MIK III. 6485). This fragment could be identified with the help of similar figures from Karakhoto (Pjotrowskij 1993, pp 146-149, no. 22). Since this isolated fragment has not only identical iconographic features, but also the same colour combinations as the Vajravarāhī depictions from Karakhoto, it appears that it might have been imported or brought by a traveller from Karakhoto.

A number of archaeological finds reveal that, in addition to Buddhism, Manichaeism and Nestorian Christianity were also represented in Turfan and that believers in these faiths coexisted with mutual tolerance.

The stylistic relationship between murals and banners

The murals and banners from Turfan both had a religious purpose, and the main difference between them was that murals were static while banners were mobile. Buddhist temples and *stūpas* were patronised

mainly by the rulers, but donations were also made by influential people of the area, traders and passing travellers. Funds thus accumulated were used to build a new temple or maintain one already in existence.

Such was not the case with the banners, which were either commissioned by individuals or purchased by them at a place of worship for a variety of purposes. Since the banners were light and could be carried on a long journey, they were ideal as votive offerings. The number of banners found in both Dunhuang and Turfan demonstrates that they were indispensable items for travellers who undertook long, hazardous journeys along the inhospitable Silk Roads. Such travellers not only carried banners in the same way as pilgrims carry altars or triptychs for daily worship, but also took banners that had been especially commissioned for the trip to pay homage to Buddhist deities in shrines they encountered along the way, and to pray for a safe and successful journey. These banners gave them psychological strength during their journey through the rough terrain and demonstrated their tremendous faith in Buddhism.

The other difference between murals and banners is the technique used in their production. When painting a mural it was essential to first prepare the ground, but this was not the case with banners. To obtain a smooth surface for the mural, a plaster made of clay, husks and animal hair was first applied and then covered with a layer of gypsum. Only then could the desired theme be drawn and painted. In the case of banners, the preparation of the foundation depended mainly on the surface of the textile. A rough texture invariably meant that the ground had to be prepared before the initial drawings were made. In most cases a coating of gypsum was applied to banners made of ramie, but those of fine silk show traces of the initial line drawings made directly onto the surface of the fabric. Preliminary drawings, both on walls and on textiles, were often made simply by dabbing stencils with black soot. A number of paper stencils stained with soot and with impressions of Buddhist themes were found in both Dunhuang and Turfan.

The colour tones used in wall paintings and banners are the same, and probably the same minerals were used for both. These are, in addition to gypsum, yellow ochre, minium (red lead), cinnabar, oxidised massicot, atacamite, carbon black, indigo, red ochre, ultramarine, sienna and malachite (Riederer 1977, pp 358, 418-421).

Whether on walls or banners, the themes are predominantly Buddhist, and these outnumber Manichaean representations. Nestorian themes are very much in the minority, and not a single Nestorian example was found among the banners from Turfan.

Between 745 and 1250, Turfan was under Uygur rule and its art therefore demonstrates a great deal of Uygur influence in addition to Chinese elements. This is particularly noticeable in the wall paintings from Bezeklik, Toyuk and Khocho. The style is purely Uygur for the simple reason that these static wall paintings were mostly made by local artists. The same is true for banners and other moveable art objects, although some do reveal stylistic elements from other places, for example, Kucha, Dunhuang and Karakhoto. Like their bearers, the banners could move from place to place along the silk routes, and hence the variety of styles, iconographic elements and influences apparent on the banners are much greater than those in wall paintings.

What is a banner? Its origin and usage

The basic concept behind banners or flags with symbols is to provide a means of identification, and their usage as royal emblems is universal. The use of animal heads or animals as coats of arms also seems to have been an ancient custom in both India and China.

Chinese origins

The ancient Chinese revered their military flags and banners. From the Han dynasty to the Qing the imperial coat of arms consisted of a pair of dragons fighting for a pearl (Williams 1976, pp 189, 190), and this motif was often depicted on banners. The shape of these banners is not known, but in 1971 an intact painted silk banner that had been placed on the lid of the innermost coffin was found in the tomb of Lady Dai at Mawangdui near Changsha in China's Hunan Province (Watson 1981, pp 570, 571, pls. 321-324). This 2nd century BCE banner is T-shaped, and at the top is a string for suspension. At each of the four corners of the banner hangs a tassel. The banner depicts subjects associated with traditional ceremonies and rituals, for example, the sun with a crow and the moon with a toad, dragons, vessels and constellations, as well as other complex design motifs. It is one of the earliest memorial banners found in China (Haesner 1997, p. 395) and was clearly associated with funerary rituals.

Second century CE banners can also be seen on the walls of the stone tomb at Yi-nan in Shandong Province (Watson 1981, pl. 699). These bear depictions of a chariot carrying acrobats and musicians and propelled by three racing dragons. The chariot is decorated with banners that resemble standards rather than flags. There is also a large tassel set on a staff, which is further decorated with a fillet tied into a bow. The entire scene illustrates a joyous occasion (Haesner 1997, p. 401), and signifies the provision of happiness for the deceased in the after-life.

Indian origins

India's great epic, the *Mahābhārata* which evolved between 400 BCE and 200 CE (NEB 1974, VI, p. 497), mentions that the banners of Manmatha, the God of Love, and Arjuna, the third son of King Pāṇḍu of the Bhārata lineage, had a crocodile (*makaraketana or makaradhvaja*) and a monkey (*kapidhvaja*) respectively as their coats of arms. Such emblems on banners, whether in a temple or a procession, served as the 'identity cards' of gods and kings. No mention is made of their shape.

Banners and their use can be seen on silver roundels from the Oxus Treasure dated to the 2nd century BCE. At least two types of *niṣpatāka*, or banners without streamers, are embossed on these roundels. They are carried by standard-bearers seated behind royal personages on elephants (Errington and Cribb 1992, nos 161, 162).

In Mathura in northern India, four banners and their usage, both decorative and religious (Vogel 1930, pl. XIV a, p. 98), are depicted on a section of balustrade dated to the 2nd century BCE. All four banners, on the left and right of the *caitya* arch, have detailed ornamental designs consisting of encircling beaded borders and schematic geometrical patterns on the 'body' which is reminiscent of patchwork banners from Turfan (MIK III. 6220). These banners are large and rectangular, and in both shape and size resemble Type B banners dating to the 8th to 9th centuries from Dunhuang and Turfan. The banners from Mathura are suspended from long staffs topped by three prongs, signifying the Buddhist symbol *triratna*, that is, the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha, and are perhaps the earliest representations of banners on a Buddhist *stūpa*.

Reference is also made to banners with Buddhist figures in the *Divyāvadāna* (a Sanskrit Buddhist text from the 2nd century CE) and in the 5th to 6th century *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, three types of banners are mentioned: large, larger and largest (Sastri 1989, p. 58). These banners were used to worship Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, but nothing is said about their shape.

The references to banners in literary works from the time of the *Mahābhārata* onwards suggests their significance in Indian religious and secular life. The balustrade from Mathura and *Stūpa* 1 at Sanchi (central India), both belonging to the second century BCE, show the actual shape and use of banners. They remind us of the Type B banners fromDunhuang and Turfan of the 8th-9th centuries (Haesner 1997, 401).

Central Asian source

The earliest reference to banners for religious use in Central Asia is made by the pilgrim Songyun, who reported that more than half of the thousands of banners and canopies hanging in the Buddhist shrines of Hanmo near Khotan belonged to the Northern Wei dynasty, which commenced in the year 386 (Beal 1981, p. lxxxvi). Chinese inscriptions on a large number of banners demonstrate that they date to the period between 495 and 513, and only one relates to the period of the Yao Qin dynasty (384-417).

The earliest known banner from Central Asia is depicted in a 6th-7th century wall painting from Kizil (Hartel 1959, pl. 26), which is situated on the northern Silk Road west of Turfan. The banner shows *Varṣakara*, a minister of King Ajātaśatru of Magadha, who instead of conveying the sad news of the demise of the Compassionate One to the king verbally, used a large rectangular banner of Type B (Haesner 1997, p. 401) depicting the four great scenes from the Life of the Buddha: Birth, Enlightenment, First Preaching and the *Mahāparinirvāṇa*. References to the use of banners for such a purpose, or to teach people, are found in Sanskrit literature, for example in the *Mudrārākṣasa* of Śūdraka (4th century) and the *Harṣacarita* of Bānabhaṭṭa (7th century).

This demonstrates that in both Central Asia and India the purposes of banners were mostly the same, that is, didactic, communicative, decorative and religious. Neither Faxian, in referring to "silken streamers and canopies", "hung in K'eeh-ch'a" (Skardo in Kashmir) where the Śramaṇas from all quarters held their quinquennial assembly (Legge 1972, p. 22), nor Sanskrit Buddhist texts, mention the shape of banners with Buddha figures, although the latter do give their size.

The observations above show that the large rectangular banners (Type B) used in Buddhist shrines (for example, on the Mathura balustrade) and in religious processions (on the eastern gate of *Stūpa* 1 at Sanchi had their origins in India, whereas the anthropomorphous Type A banners (see below) with multifarious functions (Haesner 1997, 393) demonstrate Central Asian ingenuity. A number of such Type A banners dated to the Tang and later periods have been found in Dunhuang and Turfan.

Materials

Turfan artists used silk, ramie, cotton and occasionally paper for making banners. Silk and cotton are finer than ramie and allow for more beautiful and sophisticated paintings. Surprisingly, a few complete banners that have survived the ravages of time and extreme climatic conditions are made of ramie, although silk banners are invariably in a fragmentary state, probably because of the delicacy of the material. Only four small paper banners have been discovered in Turfan, and all but one are in pieces. All have a textile support on the back, something not seen on paper banners from Dunhuang.

A few fragments of embroidered and patchwork banners have also been found in Turfan. The remains of a triangular headpiece from Toyuk (MIK III. 6183) and a fragment showing part of a Paradise scene from Khocho (MIK III. 4800) point to the fact that both large and narrow rectangular banners were produced in Turfan by embroidering the desired themes on silk, ramie or cotton.

Types of Banners

Banners can be divided into two broad categories, Type A, *sapatāka* that is, with streamers (Joshi n.d, p. 69), and Type B, *niṣpatākā* without streamers (*ibid.*). Type A are anthropomorphous while Type B consist of a simple square or rectangle. Type B banners are similar to the wall-hangings known as *paṭacitra* and *pichavai* found in Indian temples.

Type A and Type B banners usually have plain textile borders, although these may sometimes be decorated. The edges of the streamers are often rolled and sewn with twisted stitches. The borders of the headpieces and side and bottom-streamers of Type A banners from Turfan are made of coarse material and the finishing touches are clumsily executed.

Type A (cat. nos 79, 81, 83, 85 and 89)

This type resembles a human body, with a triangular headpiece as the crown or head of the banner, and a loop at the apex for suspension. At the base of the triangular headpiece is a thin stick. Below the headpiece, the "body" of the banner is made of a narrow rectangular piece of silk or ramie. This is the main part of Type A banners on which the theme was painted as commissioned. The width of the "body" varies from 14 cm to 25 cm and, like the base of the headpiece, at the lower edge is a thin stick to keep the banner straight and prevent it from developing folds that might damage the painting.

The loose side-streamers on either side and the long streamers stitched to the lower edge of the "body" are like the arms and legs of the banner (cat. no. 79). The latter vary in number from one to four. There is also a small wooden trapezoidal weight board, equal to the width of the banner, which has a groove on its upper edge for the insertion of the lower edge of the "legs" to prevent them from fluttering. The sides of the board are cut obliquely, and most of the boards have floral or linear decorations. The streamers are usually plain, but floral ornamentation does occur. The restrained, undulating movements of the "body", and the loose, fluttering side-streamers would have added a festive look to the temple and its surroundings and created a sense of mobility.

Almost without exception, Type A banners depict individual divinities, and they were probably hung on pillars or poles in monasteries in the same way as today. They were used for decorating towns, houses and places of worship, such as *vihāra, stūpa, caitya* and *devakula*, or carried in processions to create a religiously inspiring atmosphere and spread the message of the Buddha. Such banners were also offered by devotees for their own spiritual benefit, or for the peace of the souls of deceased family members. Others were dedicated to secure good health, a safe journey, or to obtain peace, prosperity, security of the territory or boons of any kind.

These banners can be subdivided into three groups: devotional, memorial and ornamental. Devotional banners depict a single deity such as a Buddha, Bodhisattva, Lokapāla or Dharmapāla; those bearing portraits of princes or Manichaean elects are classified as memorial banners; and those with decorative themes are classified as ornamental (Haesner 1997, p. 395).

Type B (cat. nos 85 and 87)

These consist of a square or rectangular piece of cloth of varying size and have no streamers. Type B banners were used in processions and also hung on walls. Type B banners are often larger than Type A and usually depict more elaborate and complex themes, mainly the Paradises of Amitābha or Bhaiṣajyaguru, the *maṇḍala* of Avalokiteśvara, and Kṣitigarbha with the Ten Kings of Hell, with or without scenes of Hell.

Dating

Turkic nomads called Uygurs established a vast kingdom in today's Xinjiang region in the year 745. At the end of the 8th century, Gansu Province and the Turfan region became a Uygur protectorate and a stable, prosperous kingdom. The Uygurs established their capital city in Khocho (Gaochang) and ruled there for four centuries (*circa* 850 to *circa* 1250). They had close political ties with the Chinese, and in times of need the Chinese sought the help of the Uygurs, "paid for through trade conducted on terms unfavourable to China. In exchange for Uygur horses, often of dubious quality, the Chinese were expected to provide the Uygurs with much-coveted riches" (NEB 1975, 9, p. 598), which naturally included Chinese silk. "Usually they came every year, trading one horse for forty pieces of silk" (Mackerras 1990, p. 338).

Xinjiang is one of the most arid regions in the world, and the Uygurs had to learn and implement water conservancy techniques for agriculture. The chief industrial crop in the Turfan Depression and the greater Tarim Basin was cotton (NEB 1975, 16, p. 796). Most of the banners and banner fragments found in Turfan are made of silk, ramie or cotton and seem to have been painted during the period of Uygur rule. The extremely dry climate has helped to preserve these invaluable treasures to this day.

A few banner fragments from Turfan painted during the Tang period are made of silk of the same quality and texture as that discovered in Dunhuang, and there is also a striking resemblance between the style of the figures and the ornamentation in the art of the two regions. The northern Silk Road was the link between Dunhuang, "the gateway" to the east and the west, and Turfan, and the occurrences of such similarities in both places is neither coincidental nor accidental. Devotees and artists travelled between the two, as did banners and artistic styles.

In this connection, mention should be made of two of the rarest banner fragments from Toyuk, dated to the Tang period, which are now in the MIK collection. The inscriptions on these fragments provide a great deal of valuable information on dates, places, religion and people. Professor Rong Xinjiang of Beijing University has very kindly read these inscriptions, and his comments, communicated to the writer in a personal discussion, are given below:

> MIK III. 6639 is a Type A banner and has a text written on the body in Chinese characters. The text mentions the name of a temple as Hao Tian Gong. The word *gong* refers to a Daoist temple, which indicates that the donor of this banner, a smith, was a Daoist. The text also refers to Changan as Jingzhao and gives the date as *yi mao* (in a cycle of sixty years and eight months). The calligraphic style is that of the Tang period. From this particular fragment it is apparent that Daoism continued in Turfan alongside Buddhism and other religions.

The other banner fragment, MIK III. 6248, certainly belongs to the lower panel of a Type B banner. It shows a lady donor with her hands in *añjali* and part of another, both seated on a carpet, and an attendant standing behind them. Between the lady donors is a cartouche with a Chinese inscription of fourteen characters. This inscription mentions the names of the two lady donors, Yinu and Baipi, who call on the Buddha with undivided minds or hearts. Although stylistically this fragment is very close to the Tang paintings of Dunhuang (Whitfield 1982, pl. 7-5), according to Professor Rong, the names of these two ladies do not occur in Dunhuang documents.

The Uygurs, who supplanted the Tang in Turfan, had inherited traditions from the peoples of the northern part of the Tarim basin with whom they had close contacts in the 7th century – from Turfan, Karashahr, Kucha and Aksu. Buddhism continued to prosper under their rule. "When they founded the new empire with its headquarters at Turfan in the 9th century, the old civilisation of Kucha-Karasahr had disappeared, but the Uygurs had assimilated much of it with the population. The Uygur empire lasted till the 11th century, and during this long period they developed a new civilisation in which Buddhism had a preponderating place, in spite of the patronage given by some rulers to Manichaeism. A large number of Uygur translations were made from the Tokharian Buddhist texts and these constituted the oldest literature of the Turks" (Bagchi 1955, pp 86, 87).

Themes

Buddhist art outside India retained very close ties with India, and although wherever it travelled it became assimilated with local traditions, both social and religious, and the local landscape, stylistic idioms and motifs, its roots were never forgotten. Studies have shown that India in general, and Gandhāra in particular, had tremendous influence on the development of the art and iconography of Central Asia.

Symbolism and iconography are of great importance to religious art all over the world, and in depicting a deity or a religious theme these aspects were followed by devotees and artists with caution and respect, and in accordance with the scriptures.

Artists in Central Asia, both monks and professionals, also used Buddhist symbols and iconography according to the scriptures, paintings and sculptural models carried to China via Central Asia by Indian monks and Chinese pilgrims. However, in depicting a Buddhist theme, a deity or a legend, they naturally used their imagination and incorporated elements from their familiar environment. These included physical features, dress, ornaments, and floral and faunal decorative motifs. While the figures are Chinese, Uygur or Central Asian, the symbols and other iconographic details help us to recognise them as derived from Indian Buddhist iconographic sources.

Both Type A and Type B banners from Turfan are based more closely on Mahāyāna than on Vajrayāna themes. A total of eight groups or themes can be distinguished: *jātaka*; Buddha figures; the Paradises of Amitābha and Bhaiṣajyaguru; Bodhisattva figures; Kṣitigarbha with the Ten Kings of Hell; *maṇḍala* of Avalokiteśvara; images of Lokapāla and Dharmapāla; and portraits of the deceased. Paradise scenes and *maṇḍala* are painted on large square or rectangular Type B banners, while the others are depicted on narrow rectangular Type A banners.

The themes depicted on banners demonstrate that the cults of Bhaiṣajyaguru, Avalokiteśvara and Kṣitigarbha were as popular in Turfan as in other places in Central Asia.

Style

According to Bagchi, "Turfan, situated on the northern route further towards the east, was more within the Chinese sphere of activity", and served only as an inevitable stopping place on the journey to the frontier of the Chinese empire. "It had received currents of the hybrid civilisation of Central Asia and had also preserved relics of it, but had not played the same role as that of Kucha and Karasahr in the spread of Buddhist culture in China" (Bagchi 1981, p. 19). The banners from Turfan show various styles: Kizilian (Indo-Iranian), Dunhuang (Chinese), Tibetan and Manichaean. The Uygur style, however, prevailed over all.

As mentioned above, the Uygurs had close links with the Chinese and it is natural that many of their aesthetic concepts evolved from those of the Chinese. The Uygurs' own indigenous style can nevertheless not be overlooked. The figures are Uygurian in appearance, with large heads and slanting eyes beneath sharply arched eyebrows; they have an oval face with a heavy, rounded chin, a long curved nose, small well-curved lips, and slender, delicate hands with pointed, long-nailed fingers. The seated figures are invariably erect, frontal and stiff, while the standing figures have a stereotyped curve of the body. The head and legs are usually tilted backwards, while the belly is pushed forward like the curve of a bow (cat. no. 83). Uygur figures hardly ever exhibit the rhythmical bend (*bhaṅga*) of the body seen in the art of India or Dunhuang. Physically the Uygurs are short and plump, but sturdy. In most cases the complexion is light buff tinged with pale pink. With the exception of the eyebrows, eyes and moustache, the outlines are executed in very fine red lines.

The art of the Uygurs is extraordinarily ornamental. Every space is filled with highly stylised geometrical and floral designs, and painted in strong colours such as fresh green, bright red and brick red. The best of such draughtsmanship can be seen in the designs of the aureoles and the mandorlas of the huge Buddha figures in the *praṇidhi* scenes painted on the walls of the caves in Bezeklik (Le Coq 1979, pls. 17-29). It is astonishing to see the multiple combinations of linear designs and variegated bright colours executed with such precision. The flame designs on the borders of the aureoles and the mandorlas, in particular, seem to have reached the height of stylisation, but not a single design is repeated. The variety of ornamental stylised flames created simply by the use of sinuous lines, geometrical designs and shades of flamboyant colours is truly extraordinary. One such flame border can be seen painted on a banner fragment from Khocho (MIK III. 4537). The same draughtsmanship is used in the treatment of the physical and facial features, the drapery, and the designs on costumes and furniture on a Type B banner depicting the Buddhist deity Hāritī (cat. no. 86).

Conclusion

When tracing the origin of the banners from Turfan, one has to go deep into the roots of Central Asian culture, which since the dawn of civilisation has attracted people from far and near. Ultimately, Central Asia became the locus for the confluence of the religions and cultures of peoples from all over the world. The land was swayed by the flood of Buddhist religion, art and culture of India, but history and cultural remains demonstrate that other religions coexisted side by side with Buddhism in perfect harmony. The banners on display demonstrate the multi-faceted origins of Central Asia as a result of its status as the "melting pot" for peoples, religions and cultures, but they also reveal Central Asia's unique, autochthonous art and culture, which are distinct from those surrounding them.

吐魯番的幢幡

Chhaya Haesner

在一九零二至一九一四年間，德國的探險家曾經在中國的西北地區找到大量幢幡，這些文物現在陳列於柏林的印度藝術博物館，而其中的十件被選出參加這次展覽。本文便利用這些文物，從文化、歷史和宗教等角度來研究吐魯番藝術。

從漢代以來，吐魯番的獨特地理位置，使它在宗教和文化生活方面扮演了一個重要的角色。吐魯番所在的絲綢之路北線成為傳遞佛教訊息的樞紐。中國和印度的傳教士和僧人如法顯、達摩笈多、玄奘都經過這條路線，從印度帶來佛教經典，並將它們翻譯成中文。他們的著述均提到在這條貿易通道上，許多地方都盛行佛教。

考古發現和寺廟幢幡表明了佛教是當時最流行的宗教，其他宗教包括道教、摩尼教和景教。在吐魯番地區發現的大量文獻，都屬於佛教的大乘、小乘和密宗，而吐魯番的幢幡則絕大多數是與大乘教有關連的，極少是小乘派別，其餘則反映了密宗的思想，還有一些則與重要的歷史人物有關。

本文還探討了幢幡的起源問題。絕大多數幢幡是絲質或苧麻的，極少用紙，其中一些飾有刺繡。根據它們的形狀，大體上可分為兩類：A類具有中亞特徵，B類則看起來像起源於印度。從題材方面來分析，A類幢幡還可細分為三個小類型：供養型、紀念型和裝飾型。在幢幡上可見釋迦牟尼佛、阿彌陀佛、藥師佛，觀音、彌勒、地藏菩薩、護法等造像，以及摩尼教上層人士和回紇王子的肖像。

吐魯番地區的幢幡帶有多種風格：克孜爾式、敦煌漢式、藏式、摩尼式(微型)，但以回紇式最流行，而且比其他形式更多裝飾。這次展出的幢幡可以佐證上述的一些論點。

佛教初傳時期中國人對佛教義理的探索—從東晉時代流傳的各種“空”的說法談起

廖明活

(一)引論

佛教約於兩漢之際(紀元前後)傳入中國，有漢一代發展緩慢，主要在皇室和外來僧侶的圈子內流傳。及至三國、兩晉時期(三世紀初至五世紀初)，國家分裂，長期的戰亂和不安促使民眾追尋宗教慰藉，為佛教的普傳帶來契機。然而在佛教教理的理解方面，當時還是處於摸索階段，僧人們研習講說佛義，往往喜歡比附中國傳統思想、尤其是當時流行的道家教說，以為生解勸進的方法。這種方法時人稱之為“格義”，而其流行的結果，導至當時佛教徒對中國傳統所無、而為佛教所獨有的觀念，沒有確切掌握，甚至作出錯誤解說。這現象從東晉時代流傳各種對佛教“空”的說法的異釋，可以看出來。

“空”是梵語字 sūnyata 的意譯，而 sūnyatā 是由動詞 śvi 演變而來。Śvi 的本義為“脹大”，因此從其語源看，“空”意指脹大的狀態。脹大的東西通常是不恆久的、沒有實體的，而“不恆久”和“沒有實體”又分別為佛教的重要教說“無常”和“無我”的涵義，由是在早期佛典裡，“空”往往是跟“無常”和“無我”連說，受到一定重視。及至大乘佛教興起，“空”被提昇為佛說的中心法門之一；著名的大乘佛典《般若經》大力唱說一切存在皆是空，並以“因緣”觀念解釋“空”，從而突出空的觀念所蘊涵的“沒有實體”的意思：

> 諸法和合，因緣生法，中無自性。若無自性，是名無法。
>
> 以是故，須菩提，菩薩摩訶薩當知一切法無性。何以故？
>
> 一切法性空故。以是故，當知一切法無性。[1]

經文指出事物是因緣和合而產生，因此是“無自性”，而無自性的東西便是空。如是，“空”乃是對獨立自存本性的存在的否定。

在東晉時代，隨著《般若經》日益流行，空的說法吸引到廣泛注意。如前所述，“空”的主要涵義之一，是沒有自存的本性實體；而事物為沒有自存的本性實體的構想，在中國是前所未有；東晉人本著“格義”的思路，嘗試了解“空”的本義，難免便產生各種歧義，當中不少帶有誤解成分。後來論者把這些歧義歸納為本無、即色、心無、識含、幻化、緣會六門，當中本無一門又包括兩種異說，此即所謂“六家七宗”。[2]“六家七宗”乃是東晉時代流傳的各種對佛教“空”的主張的解說，而由於資料的限制，現在我們對它們的認識，主要根據後出的記載。又在六家七宗裡，有關識含、幻化、緣會三家的現存記載不多，而且是晚出，因此暫且不論。以下以心無、即色、本無三家為例，檢討東晉時人對佛教空義的理解的準確程度。在現存關於這三家的記載中，以東晉末年僧肇 (374-414) 所出的年代最早；故以下論述這三家，均從僧肇的評述說起。

(二)心無說

僧肇為鳩摩羅什的高弟，致力弘揚羅什傳授的般若和中觀教說，為重要的早期中國佛教思想家。僧肇在其所作的〈不真空論〉一文裡，慨嘆當時流傳著各種對“空”的錯誤解釋，舉出“心無”、“即色”、“本無”三種為例子。關於“心無”說法，他這樣總括之：

心無者，無心於萬物，萬物未嘗無。[3]

心無說認為佛教空的學說的著眼點在勸導人不要寄情於萬物，而並非主張萬物的質性為空。僧肇對它的意見是：

此得在於神靜，失在於物虛。[4]

僧肇認為心無說的優點在於它認識到佛教提出“空”的說法的目的在於去除執取，叫心神歸於清靜；缺點在於它不明白在佛教教學裡，“空”是用來形容事物的虛假無實本性。

僧肇沒有指出心無說是誰人的主張。劉宋時代劉義慶(403-444)的《世說新語》提到支愍度跟一位北方道人為方便渡江後在南方傳教，在東晉初年一起創立心無義。梁朝劉峻(462-521)註解《世說新語》，對這心無義有進一步說明：

而(心)無義者曰：種智之體，豁如太虛。虛而能知，無而能應，

居宗至極，其唯無乎！[5]

依這記事，心無說以佛的種智本身像空間般深遠虛廓，而又能知物應物，於是唱說心無。

如果劉峻的說明沒有錯，支愍度的心無說的主旨，即僧肇評述中所云的“無心於萬物”，而其所謂“心”，主要是指佛的種智。其後陳朝(六世紀末葉)惠達作《肇論疏》，內中包括僧肇〈不真空論〉的疏解；而在疏釋上引僧肇評述心無說的話時，引用了東晉初年竺法溫〈心無論〉的一段文字；如是持心無義者還有竺法溫：

竺法溫法師〈心無論〉云：夫有，有形者也；無，無像者也。

有形不可言無，無像不可言有。[6] 而經稱色無者，但內正其心，

不空外色。但內停其心，令不想外色，則色想廢矣。[7]

依以上所引竺法溫〈心無論〉的話看，竺法溫的心無說跟支愍度的頗有出入：竺法溫雖然亦主張“無心於萬物”(“內停其心”)，但其所謂“心”，是泛義的心，非專指佛的種智。還有竺法溫似較注重標示僧肇評述中所云的“萬物未嘗無”之義：他指出有形象的事物不能說是無，而佛經所以主張萬法是空，目的要在通過空的教義，叫人停息其心對外間事物的想念，從而廢去所有虛妄的念累，而並非果然以為外間世界是空。

關於支愍度的心無說跟竺法溫的心無說的關係，現今已無資料可確考。從竺法溫的年代較支愍度為晚，及從支愍度只講“心無”、竺法溫則兼言“色有”這些地方看，則可能支愍度是始創者，竺法溫是申述者。跟我們論題有關最值得注意地方，是心無說是純從神靜角度了解佛教的空觀，而注重神靜乃是佛家跟道家的共通點；至於中國傳統所無、為佛家教說的特色的性空觀念，它則似全無所識，反而表示外物不可能是空；這反映出在初傳時期，中國人對佛教義理的了解是受到傳統思想所制約，往往未能正視佛教教理中的獨特處。

(三)即色說

《般若經》一再提到“即色是空”；即色說當是對《般若經》這講法的解說。僧肇對即色說所作評述大致可分為三段：

即色者：(一)明色不自色，故雖色而非色也。(二)夫言色者，

但當色即色，豈待色色而後為色哉?(三)此直語色不自色，未領色之非色也。[8]

評述之第一段和第三段分別為對即色說的記述和批評，這是很明顯；然而第二段是記述還是批評？其中最關鍵的“色色”一辭當怎樣理解？則是不大清楚。而由於第二段陳義不清楚，連帶理解其他兩段也有困難。於此我們不得不借助後人的註釋；當中較早出、亦是較詳盡的，要為唐朝

初年(七世紀中葉)元康《肇論疏》以下的一節話：

> 第二破晉朝支道林〈即色遊玄義〉也。今尋林法師〈即色論〉，無有此語。然《林法師集》別有〈妙觀章〉云："夫色之性也，不自有色；色不自有，雖色而空。"今之所引，正此引文也。"夫言色者，但當色即色，豈待色色而後為色哉"者，此猶是林法師語意也。若當色自是色，可名有色；若待緣色成果色者，是則色非定色也。亦可云若待細色成粗色，是則色非定色也。"此直悟色不自色，未領色之非色"者，正破也。有本作"悟"，有本作"語"，皆得也。此林法師但知言色非自色，因緣而成，而 不知色本是空，猶存假有也。[9]

根據元康的疏釋，僧肇評述中的第一段話是取自支道林(314-366)的〈妙觀章〉，如是即色說乃是支道林的主張。又依元康所見，僧肇評述裡的第一、第二兩段都是對即色說的記述，指出持即色說的人，認為要是色法(物質法)是不待緣自成，方可說是有色；今色法既都是依待其他"色"為緣形成的果"色"("色色")，例如粗色便是依待細色生成，故此都不是有定性的色，因而佛經乃說它們是空。關於僧肇第三段的批評，元康表示它指斥即色說祇能認識到色法是因緣而成，沒有自性，而不能認識到色法本來就是空，以至"猶存假有"，視假合而成的色法為實存。

要是元康的疏釋是正確，即色說的代表人物之一為支道林，此說雖認識到因緣假合的色法為空，卻視這些空性的假有為實存，從而招致僧肇的批評。然而亦有論者持不同看法，例如陳隋時代的吉藏(549-623)便稱僧肇抨擊的即色說為"關內即色義"[10]，把它跟支道林所說的即色義分別開來。對於這"關內即色義"，中唐時代的日本僧人安澄(763-814)有以下記述：

> 初關內即色義。……〈不真空論〉云："即色者，明色不自色，故雖色而非色。夫言色者，當色色即色，豈待色色而後為色哉。"《述義》云：此下破關內即色義。此師意云：細色和合，而成粗色；若為空時， 但空粗色，不空細色。望細色而粗色不自色故。……言即色空，都非無色。若有色定相者，不待因緣，應有色法。又粗色有定相者，應不因細色而成。此明假色不空義也。然康、達二師，並云破支道林即色義，此言誤矣。[11]

安澄引述八世紀日本僧人智光《中論疏述義》的話，強調僧肇〈不真空論〉所破斥的，要為關內即色義，而並非如元康所言，為支道林的即色義。值得注意是其所引《中論疏述義》的話中，提到關內即色義認為耳目所聞見的粗色，乃是細色和合而成；當佛經講色空時，是專就粗色依待細色而存在、不是自有方面講，並沒有以細色為空之意。如是關內即色義不但視空性的假色為實存，也視構成假色的細色為實存。

依以上所出數節資料看，即色說能認識到《般若經》是就色法為待緣非自有，從而說"即色是空"，比心無說是較能把握佛教的空義。然而它又倒過來辯說空性的假色為實存，並且肯認有實存的細色。這顯然是有違《般若經》一切法空的教旨，從而受到僧肇抨擊。

(四)本無說

在本文所論及的三種東晉時代流傳的空的說法中，以"本無"最受到後人注意，而有關這說法的記載，又是最多分歧。僧肇〈不真空論〉這樣評論本無說：

> 本無者，情尚於無，多觸言以賓無。故非有，有即無；非無，無亦無。[12]

〈不真空論〉一再強調佛教主張"空"，是就事物為緣起無自性上說，並無否定事物的存在的意

思。[13] 今觀它詬病本無說為“情尚於無，多觸言以賓無”，則似乎本無說的錯失，是在它把“空”理解為對事物存在的否定。根據〈不真空論〉，本無說以為“非有，有即無”：它首先認為事物為緣會而有，因此是“非有”，是“無”性，這看法非常正確；但它進而以為“非無，無亦無”，認為“無”性的事物“亦”是“無”，任何形態的存在都是無有，那便是偏尚於“無”，犯了絕對虛無論的錯誤。〈不真空論〉繼續解釋：

尋夫立文之本旨者，直以非有非真有，非無非真無耳。何必非有無此有，非無無彼無？此直好無之談。豈謂順通事實，即物之情哉？[14]

無疑，佛典也有說事物是“非有”和“非無”。[15] 不過，佛典是以“非有”的觀念，否定事物為“真”實本性的存“有”；以“非無”的觀念，否定事物為“真”實完全的空“無”。“非無”在佛典裡是對絕對空無思想的否定。本無說以“非有”否定自性有，這是正確的；但卻進而以“非無”把無自性的存有都加以否定，這正是一種絕對空無的思想，與佛典講“非無”的原意恰是相反。因此僧肇嘆息說：“何必非有無此有，非無無彼無？”為甚麼在否定自性有的存在後，無性有的存在也要加以否定呢？這簡直是“好無”之論，跟經驗界裡有種種事相呈現這“事實”不符合。

稍後劉宋時代的曇濟在其〈六家七宗論〉提到有兩種不同的本無說，他名之為“本無宗”和“本無異宗”。[16]〈六家七宗論〉全文已失佚，梁朝寶唱《名僧傳鈔》引述了它論述本無宗的話，其所陳述跟〈不真空論〉的頗有出入：

(曇濟)著〈(六家)七宗論〉：第一本無立宗曰：如來興世，以本無為教。故方等紳經，皆備明五陰本無。本無之論，由來尚矣。何者？夫冥造之前，廓然而已。至於元氣陶化，則群像稟形。形雖資化，權化之本，則出於自然。自然自爾，豈有造之者哉？由此言，無在元化之先，空為眾形之始，故稱本無。非謂虛豁之中，能生萬有也。夫人之所滯，滯在未有。苟宅心本無，則斯累豁矣。夫崇本可以息末者，蓋此之謂也。[17]

根據曇濟的記載，本無宗十分推崇“本無”，認為佛陀是以本無義立教，大乘經都是以本無為主題。所謂“本無”，是在大化流行之前、事象形成之先那空廓虛寂的境界。至於萬物的出現，是宇宙大氣運轉的結果; 是自然而然，並非有造物者為之主宰; 而“本無”也不是說有一無形象、無分限的本體，存在於萬物之前，為萬物的根源。又如果修行人能契悟這虛寂的“本”無境界，不滯著於枝“末”的俗世，便能解除一切牽累。很明顯，這意義的“本無”與魏晉玄學的自然獨化思想非常接近，而跟佛經的空觀可以說是完全兩回事。

僧肇和曇濟都沒有舉出本無說的主唱者。及後吉藏談及本無義，區別出道安(312—385)和琛法師所說的不同。在敘述道安的本無義時，吉藏襲用了上引曇濟〈六家七宗論〉的部份文字；如是道安的本無義，應當即是曇濟所謂的本無宗，而琛法師的本無義，也便應當是曇濟所謂的本無異宗了。但是吉藏對道安的本無義，有如下的評語：

詳此意，安公明本無者，一切諸法本性空寂，故云本無。此與方等經論、什、肇、山門義無異也。[18]

吉藏稱讚道安的本無義，跟大乘佛教經論、鳩摩羅什(344-約409)、僧肇和他自己所屬的攝山三論學派所鼓唱的性空思想無別，那麼道安的本無義便又跟曇濟所述的本無義意旨不相同。至於琛法師的本無義，吉藏記述如下：

次琛法師云：本無者，未有色法，先有於無，故從無出有。

即無在有先，有在無後，故稱本無。[19]

其後安澄申釋這段說話，引用了光泰〈二諦搜玄論〉和法朗 (507-583)〈山門玄義〉的記載：

〈二諦搜玄論〉十三宗中本無異宗，其製論云：

夫無者何也? 壑然無形，而萬物由之而生者也。有雖可生，而無能生萬物。.....

《山門玄義》第五卷〈二諦章〉下云：復有竺法琛，即云：

諸法本無，壑然無形，為第一義諦；所生萬物，名為世諦。[20]

依引文所出記載，琛法師即竺法琛；而竺法琛當即是竺道潛(286-374)；[21]其所說的本無，是萬物所自生的本體，為最高的真實(“第一義諦”)。因為它不像其所生的萬物，沒有特殊形體，因此稱為“無”。這種本無觀，跟佛教的空觀是截然不同的兩回事，而叫人想起《老子》的“天地萬物生於有，有生於無”(第 40 章) 的說法。

從以上的簡單闡述，可見現今討論本無說的限制：既無一手資料可憑，而僅存的二手資料又往往語焉不詳，辭同意異 。但無論如何，以上分析反映了用格義方法解說佛教義理所引起的問題：在佛教初傳時期，道家教學流行，由是當時的譯家往往依從道家之慣習，稱呼他們心目中的究竟真實——空——為“無”。不過不少人聽聞“無”，便沿著“無”的原來辭義方面想，以為佛家主張空，是表示本來甚麼都沒有(僧肇批評的本無義)，又或把佛家的空的說法理解為自然獨化論(曇濟所述的本無宗)、由無生有論(吉藏、安澄所述的本無異宗)，以至眾議紛起，出現許多誤解。

(五) 結語

以上通過檢視東晉時代流傳的三種空的說法，顯示在東漢之際至兩晉這佛教初傳時期裡，中國佛教徒在探索佛教義理時，往往未能擺脫中國傳統思想的約束，以至出現偏差，未能如實察見佛教思想的特殊地方。這情況到了東晉末年(五世紀初)，隨著中觀典籍的傳入，有了重要轉變。中觀教學為大乘佛教的兩大思想潮流之一，其論著對佛教教說的主要觀念和流別，作出全面疏理和檢別。中國佛教徒得到中觀論著指引，開始對佛教教理自身的意義和它們彼此之間的關係，有較準確理解。例如上文一再提到的僧肇，於其所撰的〈不真空論〉裡，在指出心無、即色、本無三種空的說法的錯失後，便以緣起性空觀念為本，提出“非有非無”主張。他表示萬物為從因緣生，不是恆常的、真實的存在，因此是“非有”；它們又都有呈現相、活動相，並非絕對空無，因此是“非無”；[22]其設論跟佛教空觀的原義吻合。踏入南北朝，《涅槃經》、《華嚴經》等大部大乘經紛紛出現，繼而另一主要大乘思想潮流瑜伽行的論著譯出，還有大量本土的佛經義解和註釋湧現，使得中國佛教徒的教理視野得以大大擴闊，佛教本位意識得以大大提昇，至而逐漸放下中國傳統思想的包袱，嘗試創立自身的學理傳統。由是中國佛教思想的發展，進入嶄新階段。

註釋：

1 《摩訶般若波羅蜜經》卷 22〈道樹品〉第 71，《大正藏》卷 8，頁 378 上。
2 劉宋時代的曇濟，著〈六家七宗論〉，把東晉時代流傳的空義類別為六家七宗；由是史家談到東晉時代的佛教思想，每謂當時有六家七宗。
3 《肇論》，《大正藏》卷 45，頁 152 上。
4 同上註。
5 徐震堮：《世說新語校箋》卷下(北京：中華書局， 1984 年)，頁 459 。
6 原文本作“有像不可言無，無形不可言有”，今依上下文義，作出改動。
7 《肇論疏》卷上，《續藏經》卷 150，頁 429 後上。
8 同上註 3 。

9 卷上，《大正藏》卷45，頁171下。
10 吉藏《中觀論疏》卷2末說："但即色有二家：一者關內即色義，明即色是空者，此明色無自性，故言即色是空，不言即色是本性空也。此義為肇公所呵。"(《大正藏》卷42， 頁29上)
11《中論疏記》卷3末，《大正藏》卷65，頁94上。
12 同上註3。
13 僧肇以"非有非無"為佛教的空觀的主旨，說：

> 然則萬法果有其所以不有，不可得而有；有其所以不無，不可得而無。何則? 欲言其有，有非真生；欲言其無，事象其形。象形不即無， 非真非實有。然則不真空義，顯於茲矣。故《放光》云: 諸法假號不真， 譬如幻化人。非無幻化人， 幻化人非真人也。(同上註3，頁152下)

僧肇指出要說萬物是"有"， 但它們並非具有自性的實然存在；要說萬物是"無"，但它們又各有形相，不是空白的一片。僧肇還引用《般若經》所提到的幻化人譬喻，作出說明，表示幻象中所見的人不是完全沒有(亦即"非無")，祇是並非真實存在(亦即"非有")而已。
14 同上註3。
15 僧肇認為佛教的空的教說，是要說明"非有""非無"的道理。參閱前註13。
16 元康《肇論疏》卷上提到曇濟"作〈六家七宗論〉，論有六家，分成七宗：第一本無宗、第二本無異宗、..... 第七緣會宗。本有六家，第一家分為二宗，故成七宗也。"(《大正藏》卷45，頁163上)
17 卷16，《續藏經》卷134，頁9後上。
18《中觀論疏》卷2末， 《大正藏》卷42，頁29上。
19 同上註。
20《中論疏記》卷3末，《大正藏》卷65，頁93上—中。
21 梁朝慧皎《高僧傳》卷4〈竺道潛傳〉記"竺道潛，字法琛"。(《大正藏》卷50，頁347下)
22 僧肇說："夫有若真有，有自常有，豈待緣而後有哉? 譬彼真無，無自常無，豈待緣而後無也！若有不自有，待緣而後有者，故知有非真有。有非真有，雖有不可謂之有矣。不無者，夫無則湛然不動，可謂之無。萬物若無，則不應起，起則非無。以明緣起故不無也。"(同上註3， 頁152下)又參閱上註13。

參考書目

(一)古代佛教典籍

元康: 《肇論疏》，《大正藏》卷45。
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The Advent of Buddhist Thought in China: Early Chinese Interpretations of the Buddhist Teaching of Śūnyatā

Liu Ming-wood

Buddhism was introduced into China at the turn of the Christian era. Its dissemination was slow, and until the coming of Kumārajīva in the early 5th century, Chinese knowledge of the foreign religion remained rather crude and rudimentary. Early Chinese Buddhist masters often used Daoist terms and concepts to explain Buddhist ideas and doctrines, and lack of discrimination led to widespread confusion. This paper examines records of three early Chinese interpretations of the Buddhist teaching of śūnyatā, commonly referred to as *xinwu* 心無, *jise* 即色 and b*enwu* 本無, with an eye to highlighting the difficulties early Chinese Buddhists experienced in attempting to understand and explain distinctive Buddhist ideas.

Buddhist Influence on Daoism and Early Daoist Art in China

Stephen Little

Buddhism arrived in China in the 1st century CE during the Eastern Han dynasty (25-220 CE), and by the Six Dynasties period (4th-6th centuries) had spread through much of the country.[1] Buddhism entered with a well-developed, sophisticated system of beliefs concerning the individual's place in the world, *karma* (the accumulated weight of one's thoughts and actions in this and all previous lives), the fate of the individual after death, rebirth and spiritual salvation. The arrival and growth of Buddhism in China heralded momentous changes in Chinese religion. This essay examines several ways in which Buddhism in this period influenced the development of religious Daoism and of early Daoist art. This is a rich and complex subject, and I will limit myself here to making a few general observations.

By the time it arrived in China in the late Han dynasty, Buddhism had already developed a mature artistic tradition, visible today in surviving remains and works of art in India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Central Asia. A distinct if distant awareness in China of this tradition is suggested by the extraordinary similarities between the narrative relief carvings of the Buddha's life and *jātaka* stories at the 5th century Yungang caves in northern Shanxi province – one of the earliest surviving Chinese Buddhist cave temple sites – and depictions of the same narratives at Gandhāran sites of the 1st-3rd centuries in Pakistan, at the western reaches of the Silk Road.[2] Similar visual and narrative programs undoubtedly characterised earlier Chinese Buddhist art, but only traces survive; what little we know is largely dependent on literary evidence.[3]

It is significant in light of this that Daoism only developed as an organised religion in the 2nd century CE, and had no systematic structure of visual art before that time. Indeed, the earliest surviving works of art that can be properly called "Daoist" date to no earlier than the mid 5th century, although specific precursors to Daoist art existed in the Warring States period (5th-3rd centuries BCE) and the Han dynasty (206 BCE - CE 220). To date there has been very little study of the early history of Daoist art, and the precise degree to which the earliest religious Daoist art was influenced by Buddhist art is still poorly understood.

Daoism is the most influential indigenous religion in China, and is traditionally traced back to the sage Laozi, an archivist at the late Zhou dynasty (11th century-227 BCE) court in Luoyang, who supposedly lived in the late 6th century BCE.[4] One of the goals of Daoist belief and practice was (and is) the attainment of the Dao, believed to be a spiritual force that underlies and permeates all reality. Paradoxically everything and nothing, the Dao is conceived as an infinitely pregnant void, out of which all phenomenal reality emerges. The Dao is a force that those with sufficient moral virtue can use to transform reality. Daoism evolved as a philosophy of awareness and detachment, and of belief in divine correspondences between microcosm and macrocosm. As such it has discrete philosophical similarities to Buddhism, and it is not surprising that in the course of their development the two religions in China were at times perceived as mutually sympathetic.

The origin of religious Daoism is traditionally traced to the spiritual leader Zhang Daoling, active in Sichuan in the 2nd century CE. This period witnessed the collapse of Han political authority in this region. Zhang Daoling claimed to have a vision of the deified Laozi in the year 142 CE, in which the god, Taishang Laojun (The Great Supreme Lord Lao), called on Zhang to organise his followers into a new

Daoist movement, known as the Way (Dao) of the Celestial Masters (Tianshi Dao). Zhang Daoling became the patriarch of all later Celestial Masters. Central to this movement was the belief that Daoist gods could be invoked by ordained priests, and that the gods' powers could be employed for the spiritual needs of lay society. The collapse of imperial Han authority was an important catalyst for the rapid growth of the Celestial Master movement.

Zhang Lu, the grandson and successor of Zhang Daoling, proclaimed his loyalty to the rulers of the Wei kingdom in 215, and with the fall of the succeeding Western Jin (265-316) capital of Chang'an in 316, and the establishment of the Eastern Jin dynasty (317-420) with its capital at Jiankang (Nanjing), Celestial Master Daoism quickly spread as a religion among the aristocracy of south-central China in the 4th and 5th centuries.[5] It was in this period that Daoism developed into a full-fledged religion, both in northern and southern China. The 5th century in particular witnessed imperial patronage of the brilliant and politically adept Daoist leaders and philosophers Tao Hongjing (456-536) in the south (under the Southern Liang dynasty, 502-557) and Kou Qianzhi (active 425-448) in the north (under the Northern Wei dynasty, 386-534).[6] It was also during this period that the Daoist pantheon gradually developed into a sophisticated hierarchy of gods who ruled over a series of heavens and celestial bureaucracies. By the Tang dynasty (618-907) the apex of the Daoist pantheon was occupied by the Three Purities (San Qing), one of whom was the deified Laozi, known in this form as Taiqing Daode Tianzun, or the Heavenly Worthy of the Dao and its Virtue of the Great Purity [Heaven].[7] The other two of the Three Purities are Yuqing Yuanshi Tianzun (the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginnings of the Jade Purity [Heaven]), and Shangqing Lingbao Tianzun (the Heavenly Worthy of Numinous Treasure of the Supreme Purity [Heaven]). There is thus every indication that Laozi, beyond being the sage who transmitted the *Daode jing* (*The Classic of the Way and its Power*, the fundamental classic text of Daoism) to the world, was conceived of as an omniscient god that had always existed and who created the cosmos. In short, Laozi was equated with the Dao itself.

In addition to these high gods, the pantheon came to include both Daoist gods and popular gods. Although these are somewhat arbitrary criteria, a Daoist god might be defined either as a deity conceived of as pure pneuma (thus a direct emanation of the Dao) or as a deity represented by revealed texts in the Daoist Canon (*Daozang*) – for example, Tai Yi or Zhenwu – as opposed to popular gods, who often traced their origins to local heroes and spirits (e.g., Guandi or Wen Chang). It is important to bear in mind that the Daoist pantheon has changed continuously in the last two thousand years, and that since at least the Song dynasty (960-1279) there has been a remarkably permeable boundary between the Daoist and popular pantheons. In time the Daoist pantheon came to include Taiyi (the Supreme Unity), the San Qing (Three Purities), the San Guan (the Three Officials – Rulers of Heaven, Earth and Water), the Queen Mother of the West (Xiwangmu), the Gods of the Four Quarters, Zhenwu (the Realised Warrior), Wen Chang (the God of Literature), Guandi (the God of War), the Gods of the Five Sacred Peaks, the Gods of the Heavenly Stems and Earthly Branches, the Gods of the Five Planets and Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions, the Gods of the Eight Trigrams, the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi), the Jade Emperor (Yu Huang), and many others. Finally, the wide dissemination in the Song and Yuan (1260-1368) dynasties of the Doctrine of the Three Teachings, the origins of which can be traced to the Six Dynasties period, in which Daoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism were seen as three paths to the same goal, is another manifestation of the increasingly flexible accommodation that occurred between these philosophies and religions (Confucianism having by this time developed into a religion, with temples, gods, state rituals and widespread self-cultivation teachings[8]).

The Six Dynasties period also witnessed significant tension between Buddhism and Daoism, often centred around the issue of imperial patronage. The vitriolic philosophical debates between Buddhists and Daoists at the Northern Wei court in the 5th century are an excellent case in point.[9] While Buddhism and Daoism never achieved the kind of harmonious synthesis and accommodation in China that occurred between Buddhism and Shinto in Japan, it is safe to say that from the Tang dynasty onward, with few exceptions, both religions enjoyed the patronage of China's imperial families.[10] In short, Buddhism and Daoism reached a level of accommodation that enabled both to flourish. With the support of the imperial family during the Tang dynasty, Daoism spread throughout China.[11] By the 8th century most major cities and towns had a Daoist temple (there was, for example, a major Daoist temple located at Dunhuang on the Silk Road, from which many Tang and earlier Daoist manuscripts have survived[12]).

During the 4th and 5th centuries, two significant movements had emerged within religious Daoism; these were known as Shangqing and Lingbao. The Shangqing teachings were based on a series of revelations witnessed by a Daoist adept named Yang Xi, who lived in the Nanjing area and who had close ties with the aristocracy of the Eastern Jin dynasty. Over several years, Daoist deities from the heaven of Shangqing (Highest Purity or Highest Clarity) appeared to Yang Xi and revealed to him a series of sacred texts and methods for achieving Daoist transcendence or immortality.[13] These gods revealed to Yang the existence of a vast bureaucracy of Daoist *zhenren*, or "realised beings" and they promised Yang a post as an immortal in this heavenly bureaucracy if he followed their instructions. In the early 6th century these revealed texts and teachings were collated by the great alchemist Tao Hongjing, who created the core of the Shangqing Canon. Among the most important of Tao's works was the compendium known as the *Zhengao* (*Declarations of the Perfected*). A key aspect of the Shangqing tradition was the role of divine revelation of both sacred texts and techniques of self-cultivation. Recent study of this movement has suggested the important influence of earlier shamanistic traditions in the surrounding Wu and Yue regions, which can themselves be traced back to such lineages as the shamanistic tradition of the ancient state of Chu in the Warring States period (406-221 BCE).[14]

The second important Daoist movement in this period was the Lingbao, or Numinous Treasure movement. The sacred texts of this lineage were composed around 400 CE, but were said to have been revealed much earlier through divine revelation to the philosopher Ge Xuan (fl. 238-250 CE). One of the fundamental aspects of the Lingbao texts and teachings was the borrowing and incorporation into Daoist practice of several Buddhist beliefs, among them the concepts of *karma*, heavenly retribution and reward, rebirth, and the existence of hells. As Stephen Bokenkamp has written:

> Two features of these [the Lingbao] scriptures are particularly important for the history of Daoism: First, they were meant to represent a synthesis of all the important religious traditions of the time – most prominently, Celestial Master Daoism, Shangqing Daoism, and Buddhism. They are thus the first Daoist scriptures to incorporate and redefine Buddhist beliefs, practices, and even portions of Buddhist scripture. They do this quite openly, positing the temporal priority and spiritual superiority of their message against any charge of plagiarism. The very name of the scriptures (*ling*, "spirit-endowed," representing the heavens and *yang* joined to *bao*, "jewel," representing Earth and *yin*) refers to the claim that these scriptures are translations of spirit-texts that emerged at the origin of all things when the breaths of the Dao separated into the two principles of *yin* and *yang*, thus giving the Lingbao texts priority over texts composed later.[15]

Two features of the Lingbao teachings that are similar to Mahāyāna Buddhist teachings are the focus on communal rituals and the emphasis on the spiritual salvation of all sentient beings.[16] Out of the Lingbao revelations emerged the basis of much later Daoist ritual.[17]

As these two schools of religious Daoism evolved, clear signs of the impact of Buddhism on Daoism were evident. In addition to the many types of linguistic and conceptual borrowings from Buddhist scriptures evident in early Daoist texts,[18] one very clear manifestation of this was the emergence of a new teaching with regard to the deified sage Laozi, presumed author of the *Daode jing*. Just as the historical Buddha Sākyamuni himself was believed to have undergone reincarnation through many lifetimes before attaining Enlightenment, Laozi was also said to have been reincarnated in past lives so that he could manifest himself as a sage in earlier periods of human history. This belief is articulated in several texts, among the earliest of which is the *Laozi bianhua jing*, or the *Classic of the Transformations of Laozi* (attributed to the 2nd century CE).[19] Thus during the age of the Yellow Emperor, traditionally believed to have ruled China in the mid-third millennium BCE, Laozi was said to have manifested himself as the sage Guang Chengzi. The theme of the Yellow Emperor visiting Guang Chengzi on Mount Kongtong became popular in Chinese painting, and can be seen in many surviving examples from the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). Among other things, this story demonstrated the perceived continuity of Daoist teaching into high antiquity (*shang gu*), and was a useful strategy in countering the argument that Buddhism was in any way superior to Daoism.

The focus on Laozi as a cosmic figure, so central to the beliefs of religious Daoism, also plays a vital role in the apocryphal Daoist text known as the *Huahu jing* (*Classic of the Conversion of the Barbarians*), which appeared in *circa* 300 CE.[20] This text claimed that after the revelation of the *Daode jing* to the sage Yin Xi, and after his subsequent departure from China, Laozi travelled to Central Asia and India, where he converted the Buddha Śākyamuni to Daoism. This provided a convenient means of co-opting the Buddhist idea that Śākyamuni was an Enlightened being who should be taken as a model for all sentient beings in the search for spiritual freedom from the bonds of *saṁsāra*. This and other teachings became powerful tools in Daoist attacks on Buddhism during the Six Dynasties period when the spuriousness and heterodox nature of the texts were exposed.

By the 6th century Daoism had evolved a series of practices and bodies of ritual that fulfilled both the individual's need for self-cultivation and spiritual emancipation (*de Dao* – "achieving the Dao") and the community's need for divine assistance in the material and spiritual realms. The degree to which the Daoist and Buddhist religions interacted in this period of intense political and social change is now increasingly well understood. Because so little Daoist art survives from this early phase, however, we know relatively little about the mutual impact of Buddhist and Daoist art before the Tang dynasty.

One area in which the impact of Buddhism on Daoist art seems relatively clear is that of iconic sculpture. While it is known that some Daoist masters of the Six Dynasties period, such as Lu Xiujing (406-477), the primary compiler of the Lingbao canon, actually spoke out against the use of visual images in Daoist worship, the existence of sculptures from the 5th and 6th centuries that depict Laozi as a god indicates that in some areas such images played a vital role in Daoist worship.[21] The earliest sculptures of this type date to the Northern Wei dynasty (5th century), and come from the Xi'an region of Shaanxi Province. By the Tang dynasty the creation of such images appears to have spread throughout China. Although it is not always possible to identify the deities depicted in these early Daoist sculptures, it seems clear that they most often depict Laozi as a god.[22] In addition, some early 6th century sculptures with Northern Wei reign dates appear to depict the deified Laozi along with the Jade Emperor (Yu Huang), a key deity of the popular pantheon who nonetheless played a significant role in Daoist mythology.[23] It is

the paired Buddhas Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna (a theme derived from the *Lotus Sūtra*).

A striking visual aspect of these early Daoist sculptures is the degree to which they borrowed from the basic iconographical programme of early Chinese Buddhist sculpture, in which a Buddha is usually shown in meditation flanked by two Bodhisattvas. Many Northern Wei Daoist sculptures depict, for example, the deified Laozi flanked by two unidentified standing figures who may represent perfected beings (*zhenren*) of the celestial bureaucracy.[24] When these sculptures are inscribed with dedicatory inscriptions, the central figure can be identified as Taishang Laojun, or more often merely as "Tianzun" (Heavenly Worthy).[25] Significantly, while the donors of such works are often identified in the inscriptions as Daoists (*daomin*), they are also sometimes identified as Buddhist disciples (*Fo dizi*). This and other features, such as the survival of some stelae that include images of both the deified Laozi and the Buddha Śākyamuni, suggest that the 5th and 6th centuries were periods of intense syncretic belief, in which both Buddhism and Daoism served the spiritual needs of a wide range of Chinese society. Recent research has pointed to the influence of Daoist Lingbao teachings in the inscriptions of such sculptures.[26]

Unfortunately, so little religious Daoist art survives prior to the Song dynasty that few definitive observations can be made regarding the function of the visual arts in Daoist practice before this time. A Song dynasty hand scroll by Liang Kai depicting the creation of votive paintings and sculptures is, however, one of the earliest images to illustrate the production of such works in a religious Daoist context.[27] This work is particularly significant in light of the existence of the Six Dynasties period votive sculptures of the type discussed above. Created at the imperial Southern Song court in Lin'an (Hangzhou) in the early 13th century, the hand scroll has been traditionally viewed as a depiction of the Celestial Master Patriarch Zhang Daoling's vision of the deified Laozi and his celestial entourage. While this is difficult to confirm, the painting certainly shows a Daoist priest experiencing a divine revelation. In this period, the Song court appears to have been as supportive of religious Daoism as of Chan Buddhism. What makes Liang Kai's hand scroll unique is its ancillary depiction of Daoist rituals for the living and the dead. In the upper right corner of the painting sculptors and painters are shown making Daoist votive images, while in between a priest transcribes sacred scriptures. The sculptor is shown carving an image of what may be a Celestial Worthy, possibly the deified Laozi. This is a vivid illustration of the creation of images for Daoist temples, a widespread tradition that extends back to at least the 5th century.[28]

As in Buddhism, art played a key role in Daoist teaching, meditation, and ritual, and was very often created under imperial auspices. Many emperors and other members of the imperial families of China were ordained as Daoist priests, beginning with the Northern Wei emperor Tai Wudi (r. 424-452). It is also clear that Daoism provided a useful formula for the political legitimation of the imperial family. The recent discovery of the Ming dynasty ordination certificate created when Empress Zhang, wife of the Hongzhi emperor (r. 1488-1505), became a Daoist priestess in 1493, demonstrates a late and extraordinary example of painted images in the service of Daoist ritual at the imperial level. Empress Zhang's ordination scroll, inscribed by the forty-seventh generation Celestial Master Zhang Xuanqing, depicts over thirty Daoist gods, all controlled by the Empress.[29] Yongzheng reign period – Imperial patronage of Daoism continued in the Forbidden City during the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), as is documented in a surviving painting by Jiao Bingzhen of the Yongzheng reign period (1723-35) illustrating a Daoist ritual at the court.[30] The patronage of the Celestial Master hierarchy by the emperors during the Ming and Qing dynasties is noteworthy in light of the well-documented relationships between the same rulers and the Buddhist lamas who ruled Tibet in these periods.[31] This tradition extended back to the Mongol emperors of the Yuan dynasty.

Buddhism and Daoism have thus interacted at the popular and imperial levels for much of the past two millennia. In the realms of philosophy and art, both religions have helped shape the real and ideal contours of Chinese society. The several points of intersection between Buddhism and Daoism examined here are ultimately indicative of the ways in which both religions adapted to each other's presence in China over many centuries.

END NOTES

1 The classic study is by Zürcher, E. 1972.
2 The most thorough documentation of the Yungang caves is by Seiichi, M. and Toshio, N. 1952-56. The observations expressed here are based on my unpublished Master's Thesis, "Narrative Relief Sculpture at Yungang, 465-485" (University of California, Los Angeles, 1977).
3 See, for example, Soper, A. C. 1959.
4 The Laozi myth is discussed in detail in Graham, A. C. 1998: pp 23-40; and Kohn, L. 1998: pp. 41-62. See also Kohn, L. 1996: pp 52-63.
5 Robinet, I. (trans.) 1997: pp 53-56; see also Bokenkamp, S. 1996: p. 166.
6 For studies of these important Daoist philosophers, see Strickmann, M. 1979: pp 123-192; Mather, R. 1979: pp 103-122; and Ware, J. R. 1933: vol. 53, pp 215-243.
7 Laozi is known to have been worshipped as a god by the Han dynasty Emperor Huandi in 165; see Seidel, A. K. 1992: pp 36-50. See also Pontynen, A. 1980: pp. 192-200.
8 Some of the roots of Confucianism as a religion are traced in Neskar, E. 1996: pp 293-302.
9 Ch'en, K. 1964: pp 184-194.
10 On the accommodation of Buddhism and Shinto in Japan, see Matsunaga, A. 1969.
11 Barrett, T. H. 1996.
12 These are conveniently illustrated and annotated in Ôfuchi Ninji, *Tonkô dôkyô*, 2 vols., Fukutake shoten, Tokyo, 1978.
13 Strickmann, M. 1981.
14 See, for example, Kroll, P.W. 1996: pp 180-187.
15 Bokenkamp, S. 1996: p. 269. See also Bokenkamp, S. 1983: pp 434-486.
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17 For an excellent study of modern Daoist ritual and some of it historical antecedents see Lagerway, J. 1987.
18 Zürcher, E. 1980: pp 84-147.
19 Kohn, L. 1993: p. 71.
20 Kohn, L. 1993: pp 72-80.
21 For Lu Xiujing's remarks, see Bokenkamp, S. R. 1996-97: p. 64.
22 Yoshiko Kamitsuka 1998: pp 63-85.
23 See, for example, the Northern Wei sculpture dated 527 in the History Museum, Beijing; published in *Zhongguo meishu quanqi, diaoke pian: Wei Jin Nanbei Chao diaosu*, vol. 3, 1988: pl. 73.
24 See, for example, the Northern Wei Daoist stele now in the Eisei Bunko Foundation, Tokyo, illustrated in Sirén, O. 1925: vol. 2, pl. 124, and *Chûgoku no seki-butsu* [Exh. cat.],Osaka Municipal Museum of Arts, Osaka, 1995, no. 87.
25 James, J. M. 1989: pp 71-76.
26 Bokenkamp, S. R. 1996-97: pp 55-67. See also, in the same issue: Abe, S. K. 1996-97: pp 69-84.
27 Published in Cahill, C. 1962: no. 30; Lee, S. E. 1963: pl. 129; Smith, B. and Weng Wan-go, H. C. 1972: pp 184-185; Lee, S. E. 1986: fig. 8; Xie Zhiliu 1987: 1, 5-9; and Little, S. 1988: no. 2.
28 Bokenkamp, S. 1996-97: p. 64.
29 San Diego Museum of Art, accession number 1961.094.
30 Arthur M. Sackler Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., accession number S1991.99.
31 See Berger, P. 1994: pp 107-118.

佛教對道教的影響和中國早期道教藝術

Stephen Little 利特爾

本文概括地介紹佛教對早期道教信仰和藝術的影響。在過去數十年，學者認為早於六朝初期(四至五世紀)，佛經教義和名詞已應用到早期的道教典籍。而這時也正是道教藝術的濫觴時期，它們在造型和內容方面均與早期佛教藝術類似。本文致力探討在早期道教神像的發展史上，有哪些是佛教和道教的共通地方。

The Mind Set: Adaptation and Transformation of Buddhist Ideas and Imageries in China

Helmut Brinker

More than two thousand years ago, Indian Buddhism arrived in China as a complex religious system based on a variety of doctrines, practices and premises that the ancient Chinese would have found difficult to relate to. Buddhism differed markedly from earlier Chinese religions and philosophies. It challenged, and in parts even flatly contradicted, some of the most cherished concepts and ideals of the past. The exposure to foreign ideas and imageries, languages and metaphors that came 'in the footsteps of Buddha' resulted in profound changes in almost every aspect of life and thought, state and society. Buddhism inevitably caused a radical transformation of older traditions in Chinese culture and art. For the first time the Chinese had to come to grips with totally alien beliefs and highly sophisticated religious concepts. The ultimate success of Buddhism in China was due mainly to its tolerance for other philosophical paths and religious practices, its readiness to adopt and adapt to Daoism and Confucianism.

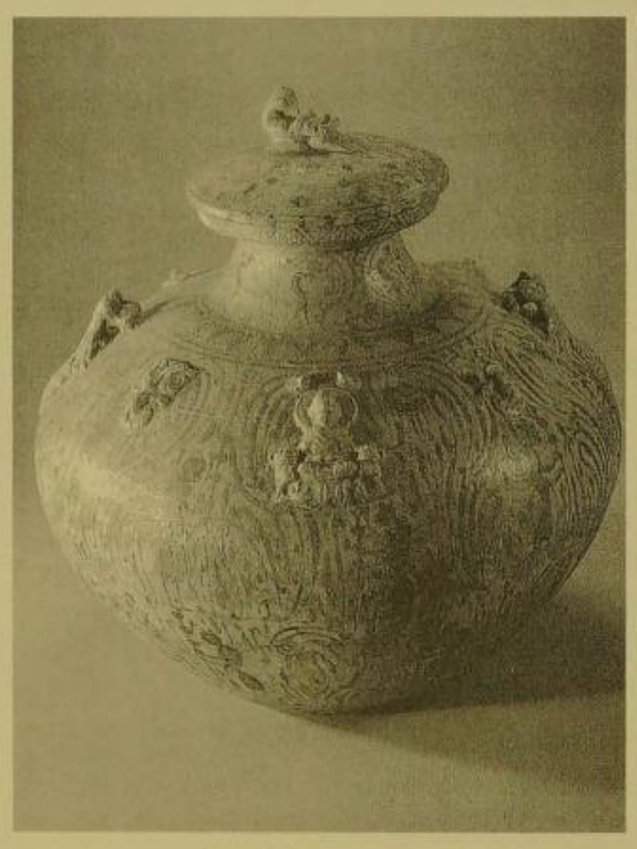


Fig. 1 Covered jar (*hu*) with seated Buddha on a lotus throne flanked by lions
Wu Kingdom (222-280)
Green-glazed stoneware (celadon) with painted and relief design, H: 32.1 cm
Unearthed in 1983 at Changgang village, Yuhuatai, Nanjing, Jiangsu Province, Nanjing Municipal Museum

In Buddhism's formative stages in China, Buddhist imagery appears only sporadically, and was mingled within an indigenous Han context. Traditional Buddhist motifs of Indian origin were fused with Daoist beliefs, figures and customs, and rendered in stylistic and technical patterns familiar from tomb decoration and furnishings (Fig. 1). Buddhist imagery had to be translated into forms and modes that the Chinese could understand, as was true for Buddhist scriptures. We must assume that the early missionaries from the 'west' knew little if any Chinese and that their local collaborators probably had no comprehensive knowledge of Central Asian or Indian languages. Pertinent Daoist terms and metaphors as well as loanwords from the Confucian classics were appropriated in the attempt to render religious concepts such as impermanence and insubstantiality, and to describe the transcendental notions of transmigration and reincarnation.

According to tradition, extensive translation activities began with the arrival of two Indian monks, Dharmaratna and Kāśyapa Mātaṅga. They allegedly joined a group of Chinese envoys dispatched by Emperor Ming of the Eastern Han (r. 57-75 CE) in order to track down the import of a miraculous dream apparition. We are told that the two missionaries brought back a copy of the 'The Scripture in Forty-two Sections', which they translated into Chinese as *Sishier zhang jing* – traditionally the first Chinese rendition of an Indian Buddhist text. The true origin and date of this work, however, have been subjects of scholarly controversy. By mediaeval times, Dharmaratna and Kāśyapa Mātaṅga were regularly credited with the translation of this 'short collection of aphorisms and pithy moralistic parables',[1] and the Emperor is said to have established Baimasi, 'White Horse Temple', the first official Buddhist institution on Chinese soil, and housed the two monks there in Luoyang. At first, Buddhist congregations existed primarily in the foreign merchants' quarters of larger cities, and only gradually did the new religion gain a substantial following among native Chinese. From roughly the 4th century, however, religious life in China was largely dominated by Buddhism. In his preface to the *Luoyang qielan ji* (Record of Buddhist Temples in Luoyang) completed in 547, the military leader and chronicler Yang Xuanzhi noted:

> The people and wealthy families parted with their treasures as easily as with forgotten rubbish. As a result, Buddhist temples were built side by side, and *stūpa* [pagodas] rose up in row after row. People competed among themselves in making or copying the Buddha's portraits. Golden *stūpa* matched the imperial observatory in height, and Buddhist lecture halls were as magnificent as the [ostentatiously wasteful] Efang [Palaces of the Qin dynasty (221-207 BCE)]. Indeed, [Buddhist activity was so intense] that it was not merely a matter of clothing wooden [figures] in silk or painting earthen [idols] in rich colors.[2]

Yang Xuanzhi reports that there were forty-two temples in Luoyang by the beginning of the 4th century CE and that this number increased rapidly; by the end of the Wei dynasty in the second half of the 6th century we have an estimate of no less than 1,367 Buddhist temples in and around the capital city. Mediaeval Chang'an was also famous for its magnificent temples. According to ancient records, the Tang capital had at least sixty-four Buddhist monasteries and twenty-seven Buddhist nunneries during the first half of the 8th century. By comparison there were only ten monasteries and six nunneries occupied by the Daoist clergy.

Notwithstanding two serious persecutions (during 446-452 under Emperor Taiwu of the Northern Wei and again during 574-578 under Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou), the Buddhist church continued to flourish during the period of disunity (220-589), the Sui (580-618) and most of the Tang (618-907) dynasty. The third and most severe suppression, gathering force from about 841 and culminating in 844-845 during the reign of Emperor Wuzong, marked the beginning of a gradual decline of influence, power, and wealth of the Buddhist church as an established institution. A series of increasingly harsh imperial edicts was directed toward confiscation of monastic property and secularization of the clergy.

The violent return to secular life of more than a quarter of a million nuns and priests was witnessed and recorded by the Japanese pilgrim Ennin (793-864), who kept a detailed diary of his sojourn in China. Large numbers of the clerics were arrested, tortured or killed. About 4,600 Buddhist temples and 40,000 cloisters, shrines, hermitages, and monastery hostels throughout the empire were shut down, dismantled or destroyed. By imperial decree only 49 temples with approximately 800 monks and nuns in the whole of China were allowed to continue their ecclesiastic activities. The capital cities of Luoyang and Chang'an were permitted no more than 4 temples each. There was also a restriction on the number of resident monks; Luoyang was permitted 120 and Chang'an only 30 resident monks. The vast properties and monetary wealth of the Buddhist church were confiscated by the government, and some of the splendid temple compounds in Chang'an, among them the estate of the great Anguosi, "Temple for Pacifying the Country", were converted into imperial parks.[3] Buddhist bronze bells and metal icons were ordered to be surrendered to the state authorities and eventually melted down. In the entire empire no images of bronze, iron, gold or silver were permitted for public or private worship. Only sculptures made of stone, wood, clay or other non-metallic materials are said to have been exempt from the tragic suppression and devastation. The actual extent of the loss of religious art and architecture, of Buddhist literature, icons, and sacred paraphernalia toward the end of the Tang dynasty can hardly be imagined. Arriving in Dengzhou after his own expulsion from Chang'an, the Japanese pilgrim Ennin noted in his diary:

> There has been an imperial edict, saying that the prefectural and subprefectural governments are to peel the gold off the gilt bronze Buddhist images throughout the land and are to weigh it and present it to the throne. [...] Although it

> [Dengzhou] is a remote place, it has been no different from the capital in the regulation of monks and nuns, the destruction of the monasteries, the banning of the scriptures, the breaking of the images, and the confiscation of the property of the monasteries. Moreover they have peeled off the gold from the Buddhas and smashed the bronze and iron Buddhas and measured their weight. What a pity! What limit was there to the bronze, iron, and gold Buddhas of the land? And yet, in accordance with the Imperial edict, all have been destroyed and have been turned into trash. [4]

Tradition holds that the first Buddha image was introduced into China sometime between 64 and 75 CE, as the result of a dream of Han Mingdi. The emperor saw a divine man, whose body was "golden in color, wearing a solar halo about the crown of his head. He inquired of his courtiers, one of whom said: 'In the west there is a deity known as the Buddha, whose form is like what Your Majesty dreamed of; may it not have been he?' Thereupon envoys were dispatched to India, who had copies made of a *Sūtra* and [obtained] an image, which they displayed in China. From the Son of Heaven down through the princes and nobles, all paid them honour; for when they heard that a man's soul is not extinguished by death, there was none who was not fearful of being lost. [5]"

This famous dream-and-envoy story was considerably embellished over time. It occurred initially in an early preface of the *Sishier zhang jing*, "The Scripture in Forty-two Sections," which may be dated to the Eastern Han (25-220 CE) or shortly thereafter. Such edifying anecdotes later acquired an aura of fact, and were often cited as literal truth by Chinese Buddhologists. By the 5th century the icon mentioned among the Buddhist paraphernalia in the luggage of Mingdi's returning delegation had been identified in Chinese records either as the original (or an equally sacred) faithful replica of the celebrated Śākyamuni portrait. This was believed to have been a portrait commissioned by the youthful Indian King Udayana, Buddha's ardent admirer and pious patron. Although this account of the legendary Udayana icon is apocryphal, it tells us something about the significance of imagery in the transmission of Buddhism, the "iconic journey from India to China", and the early Chinese concern and respect for the foreign religion and its art.

A century after the purported introduction of the first Buddhist scripture and image, a lavish religious ceremony in honour of Śākyamuni and Laozi, the founding figure of Daoism, is mentioned by the astrologer and scholar Xiang Kai in his well-known memorial presented to the Han Emperor Huan in 166 CE. His text refers to the belief that Buddha was in reality none other than the deified Laozi. Images of the two Sacred Ones were installed under sumptuous floral canopies in a special palace building. Rituals and sacrifices were performed with pomp and ostentation, using precious vessels of gold and silver, consecrated beads, and embroidered textiles. [6]

Buddhist icons must have been in ritual use in China well before this date; they probably arrived in the luggage of foreign merchants and missionaries who had come along the ancient overland trade routes of Central Asia or by sea around Southeast Asia. Most of these images were probably made of gilded bronze. Their shining surface was intended to reproduce the sunlike radiance of the Buddha's body. It is only toward the end of the Eastern Han dynasty, about the year 200, that the Chinese themselves may have started to experiment with casting such icons. We are informed by the noted Vinaya master, translator and biographer Daoxuan (596-667) that a certain monk Huihu made a gilded Śākyamuni image at the Shaoling Temple in Wujun in the year 377. According to Daoxuan, the sixteen-foot-high statue was cast in a cave dug on the steep south side of the temple. [7]

In general, bronze casters and sculptors enjoyed little social eminence. Like their craftsmen ancestors, they remained anonymous. Very few won recognition comparable to that of contemporary painters. One of the earliest sculptors, and perhaps the first to have his name enter the historical records, was Dai Kui (d. 395). He is said to have made monumental configurations for various temples and to have achieved an unprecedented technical versatility and inventiveness, beauty and expressiveness in casting bronze icons, carving wooden sculptures and making portable lacquer statues. In Daoxuan's view, Dai Kui's genius was a decisive factor leading to the progressive disuse of exotic foreign styles in favour of Sinicised Buddhist imagery. Artists in the service of Buddhism sought to represent their religious figures with stylised beauty and sumptuous splendour, using a complex system of idealisation beyond human forms. It was their aim to visualise the sacred essence of the faith through majestic manifestation of the deities. This was accomplished through expressing serene nobility, and through lavish adornment – an aesthetic quality called *alaṁkāra* in Sanskrit (Ch: *zhuangyan*). In spite of the large variety of saviour figures, the scope of artistic creativity and innovation in Buddhist imagery was limited, on the whole, by iconographic and iconometric constraints. Needless to say, statues were appreciated not primarily as art objects, but were respectfully treated as sacred icons. Nevertheless, such variables as the nature and intensity of piety in various parts of the vast country, locally available materials, patrons' preferences, the function, purpose, placement or installation of a given icon, as well as adaptations of Indian and Central Asian aesthetics and stylistic traits to traditional Chinese taste and modes of representation, created a surprising variety of Buddhist sculpture.

A few Buddhist image makers may have been ecclesiastics or artists loosely associated with a religious institution, but most were probably professional lay craftsmen, who may have been organised in workshops through which they handed on their technical skills and experience to following generations. Ancient Chinese prejudice condemned even the most talented masters of the laborious art of sculpture to social inferiority and anonymity. Not until the end of the Tang dynasty is any individual sculptor known to have left his signature on an extant work. A few sculptors are known by name solely through literary sources. Chinese sculptors rarely had the opportunity to see "western" Buddhist monuments with their own eyes. Only now and then could they draw inspiration from major "western" prototypes, those that had been imported or officially presented to the court or to a renowned temple in China. Instead, sculptors had to rely largely on oral descriptions by missionaries and returning pilgrims, perhaps on their sketches and drawings made en route, on manuals handed down, and on images made for private worship – small and therefore easily portable.

The materials Chinese artists used for Buddhist images varied greatly over regions and time. In addition to bronze, clay and lacquer, various kinds of stone and wood were very popular. We find sculptures made of sandstone, limestone, schist and marble, as well as statues carved in sandalwood, camphor and pine. As a rule, they received a polychrome finish over preparatory coatings. The technique for casting bronze icons employed traditional moulds as well as the lost-wax method. Overall fire gilding was favoured. Additional engraving may be seen occasionally, but in ancient times this technique was mainly reserved for dedicatory inscriptions. Portable miniature altars and small icons for private worship stood more chance of preservation than did the monumental temple bronze statuary, almost all of which was destroyed in the course of infrequent but ferocious persecutions of Buddhism or in other disasters, such as revolts, wars, earthquakes, fires or floods.

Icons were a means to the fundamental goal of every devoted Buddhist, a goal the Chinese called *jianfo*, "seeing the Buddha". Since ancient times the main object of veneration or prime statue worshipped in a particular Buddhist ritual, or enshrined in a building of a Buddhist temple, has been called *benzun* or

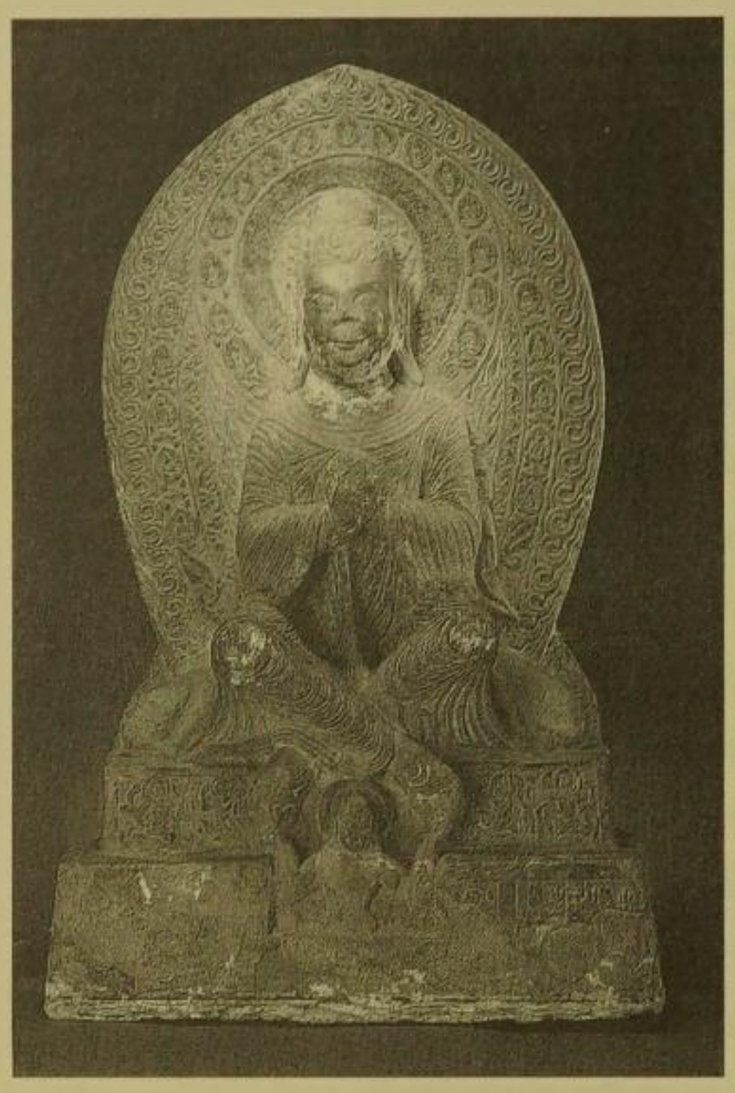


Fig. 2 Stele with Maitreya
Northern Wei Dynasty (368-535), dated to 471
Sandstone with traces of polychromy,
H: 86.9 cm
Unearthed in Xingping county, Shaanxi Province
Forest of Stelae Museum, Xi'an

Fig. 3 Reverse of Fig. 2, Stele with Maitreya

"Original Honoured One". As a rule, the chapel or hall is dedicated to and named after that particular deity. The word *benzun* can be traced back at least as far as the Northern Wei dynasty (386-535). Another key term frequently encountered in Buddhist scriptures is *xingxiang*, "form image", emphasising the perceptible appearance, the formal likeness and iconographic appropriateness of the represented deity. Its Sanskrit equivalents are *pratimā*, "proportioned in correspondence [with the real deity]", *pratikṛti*, "made in accordance [with the real deity]", or *saṁsthāna*, the "shape or form of a deity". *Yingxiang*, literally "shadow image", is the Chinese translation of the iridescent Sanskrit term *bimba* or *pratibimba*. It characterises the icon as an ultimately illusory reflection without inherent reality, and is regularly used to designate the visualised image of a deity and its pictorial representation. Material substance and form remain a totally worthless "shadow" – that is, a mere visual perception – as long as an icon has not received its proper spiritual enlivenment through consecration in an adequate ritual. Only then does a sculpture change from a piece of stone, wood, bronze, clay or lacquer to a sacred image: it metamorphizes from "form image" (*xingxiang*) or "shadow image" (*yingxiang*) into the "Original Honoured One" (*benzun*), imbued with the potency to assist and guide believers on their way to true Enlightenment and salvation. The final step in creating an icon – dotting the pupils of the eyes – was an act of ritual as well as representation. This practice seems to have been known in ancient Indian Buddhism as well as in Brahmanism. (A similar cultic practice called "mouth-opening" was popular in ancient Mesopotamia perhaps as early as the 3rd millennium BCE.) The "eye-opening" ritual, *kaiyan*, is the most important process in consecrating a new icon, endowing the image with a gaze gives it a sense of life. The Tang Emperor Taizong (r. 627-649) himself attended such an inaugural "eye-opening" ceremony for the main Buddha image in the Xingfu Temple (formerly Hongfusi) in Chang'an, which in 634 he had renamed and rededicated to the spiritual well-being of his mother. Unfortunately, the sources give no further details of this dedication service, but the Emperor probably played an active part in the ritual of invoking Buddha and endowing his image with beneficial and protective power.[8]

Since early times Buddhist theologians have speculated and commented on the relationship between the outer form and the inner principle, and the actual and spiritual presence of deities or saints in images made by human hands. They were deeply concerned about the degree of reality and potency dwelling in a pictorial representation. The efficacy of Buddhist icons, and therefore of the rituals addressed to them, was thought to depend to a great extent on their magic essence. To reinforce the potency ascribed to the images, all sorts of objects – precious relics, ritual implements, holy scriptures and pictures, printed or written magic spells, miniature figures of deities or even textile models of human organs – were sometimes deposited in special cavities or in the hollow interior of a sculpture before it received its finishing touches and initial consecration. Literary evidence and extant statues bear witness to the early existence of this magico-religious practice in China, which was not limited to any particular Buddhist school or category of religious imagery.

The Buddhist iconic journey can to some extent be traced in the chronological sequence of the establishment of cave-temples. The architecture of the earliest Chinese cave-chapels follows Central Asian

models and clearly reveals their Indian origins. Textual evidence suggests that the first cave-temple was built in 366 at Dunhuang in the far northwest (a junction of the great trade routes and a gateway to "western" influence). The number of securely dated Chinese Buddhist icons, mainly gilded bronzes of the 4th century, is very small, and their style is reminiscent of images from Gandhāra. Although attached canopies are also known in early Indian sculpture, the leaf-shaped mandorla with flaming border seems to be a Chinese innovation. The attempt to emulate the Indian naturalism soon fused with indigenous Chinese tendencies toward stylisation and abstraction. Early Chinese Buddhist images tend to ignore rather than emphasise human anatomy. Thus, the robes do not drape easily, but are, on the contrary, stiffly modelled and rigidly symmetrical, creating a rather austere, disincarnate image, but one of compelling majestic poise. By the end of the 5th century, all the stylistic idioms of Buddhist sculpture that had reached China from Gandhāra, India, and Central Asia had been slowly assimilated into a consistent Chinese declaration of faith and zeal.

Most important for the study of Chinese Buddhist sculpture is the comparatively large corpus of votive stelae, richly decorated with engravings and reliefs of various depths and heights. They were usually installed in temple compounds, in monasteries and nunneries or their courtyards and also in cave-chapels. Their prototypes may be seen in the memorial and other inscribed stelae customary in China since Han times. One of the earliest and most enduringly popular types of votive stelae represents a seated, or standing, haloed Buddha with a leaf-shaped mandorla. The Buddha thus represented is often Śākyamuni, the historical Buddha, or the redeeming Buddha of the Future, Maitreya, identified as a rule by his crossed-ankled pose. The Buddha is presented in solemn frontality and high relief, almost in the full round – a stately figure, imbued with majestic grandeur. A blissfully withdrawn smile on his face radiates tranquility and salvational certitude. The symbolic gestures of the hands (*mudrā*) effectively convey powerful instructive messages to the devout beholder. On the front of the aureole, dense patterns and ornaments are often interspersed with miniature Buddha figures called "Transformation Buddhas" (*huafo*). Occasionally, the pointed mandorla curves gently forward at the top. This, along with other features such as the engraved wreath of flames, may have been inspired by gilded bronze images. On the reverse, carved in low relief or incised, we find groups of minor deities and donors, along with narrative scenes of the Buddha's life and depictions of holy or miraculous deeds, events and encounters. Most of these features may be seen on a stele reportedly unearthed in Xingping county, Shaanxi Province (Figs. 2-3). The inscription on the rear of its pedestal is partly damaged, but the date can be safely read and corresponds to the year 471 CE. The soft modelling and conspicuous parallel folds of the drapery suggest that the sculptor intended to transfer the qualities of a moulded clay prototype into stone carving, which may reflect stylistic influences from Taxila in Gandhāra (in present-day Pakistan) or Bamiyān in Afghanistan.

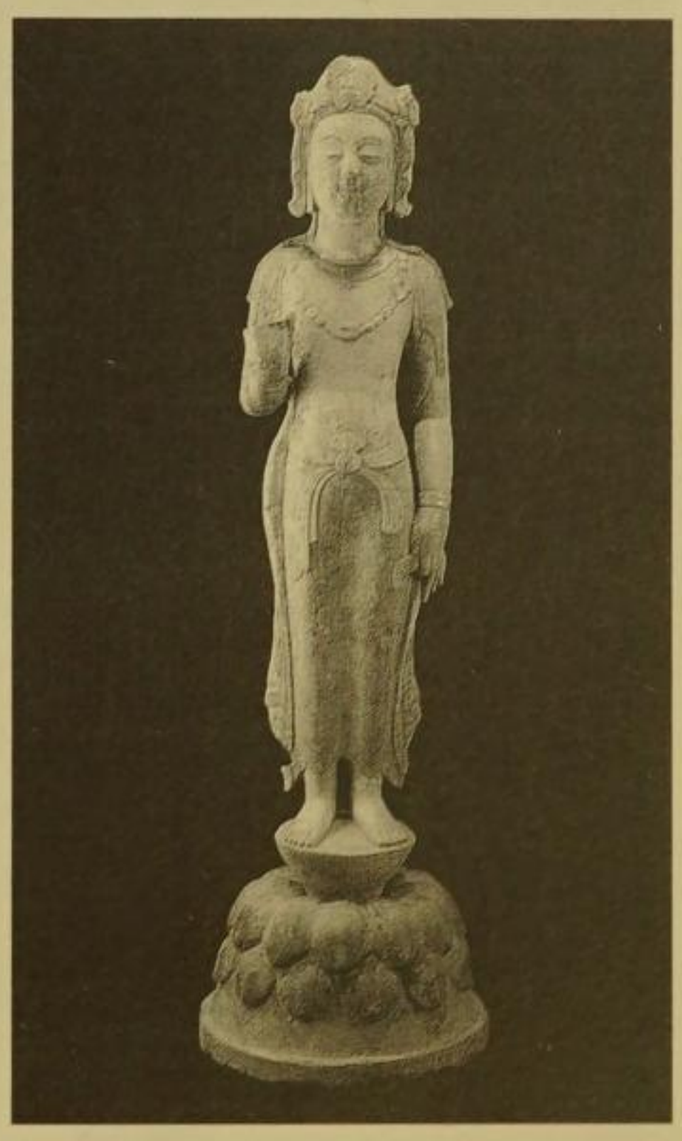


Fig. 4 Bodhisattva
Eastern Wei Dynasty (534-550)
Marble with traces of polychromy and gilding, H: 95 cm
Unearthed in 1987 at the Longxing Temple site, Qingzhou, Shandong Province
Qingzhou Municipal Museum

The oldest free-standing stone statues in the round are not likely to predate the first half of the 6th century. The use of micaceous white marble known as Han *baiyushi*, "white jade[-like] stone of Han", may have played an important role. It was an almost ideal material for the sculptors working in the Qingzhou and Zhucheng areas of Shandong Province, and the Baoding and Dingzhou areas in Hebei Province. In addition to smaller sculptures and stelae, monumental statues in the round, exhibiting a delicate smoothness and occasional traces of polychromy, have been found in these regions. The flat drapery folds cling to the body and flow in subtle, graceful lines, contrasting with the rounded form of

Fig. 5 Trailokyavijaya on Rock Pedestal, second quarter of the 8th century
Tang Dynasty (618-907)
Marble with traces of polychromy and gilding, H: 71 cm
Unearthed in 1959 at the Anguo Temple site, Xi'an, Shaanxi Province
Forest of Steles Museum, Xi'an

the head. A large number of marble sculptures, several of them inscribed and dated to the 520s, were excavated in the ruins of the ancient Xiude Temple near Quyang in Hebei and in the old precints of the Longxing Temple at Qingzhou in Shandong (Fig. 4).

Throughout the first half of the 6th century traditional styles and motifs persisted in the Chinese Buddhist sculptor's art, but from about the mid 6th century a novel style was evolving in north China. The sculpture of the Northern Qi (550-577, cat. nos 95-101) and Sui periods (590-618, cat. nos 104-107) is clearly distinct from earlier linear, geometric treatments of Buddhist images. In this new stage of the development we see a genuine attempt to indicate the human body beneath the garments, an attempt that was stimulated by Indian influences of the classic Gupta period. In their striving for volume and the graceful movement of the figures, Tang sculptors of the 7th and 8th centuries even went a step further by combining solid, almost weighty reality with voluptuous fleshiness. Suave, rhythmic drapery patterns follow the form of the body so closely that one senses the texture, weight and fall of the cloth. As the figures became more substantial and often plump, there was an ever-increasing tendency towards rich detail, complexity of forms and restless movement in the sweeping curves of the drapery folds. Their extraordinary technical skill allowed the sculptors to reproduce the finest details of the hair, ribbons and jewellery with utmost accuracy. In the end, the monumental solidity of the mature Tang style was diminished through an overconscious striving for aristocratic elegance and sensuous beauty (Fig. 5).

Fig. 6 Stele with Śākyamuni and Attendants
Liang Dynasty (502-557), dated to 523 CE
Sandstone, H: 35.8 cm
Unearthed in 1954 at the Wanfo Temple site, Chengdu, Sichuan Province
Sichuan Provincial Museum, Chengdu

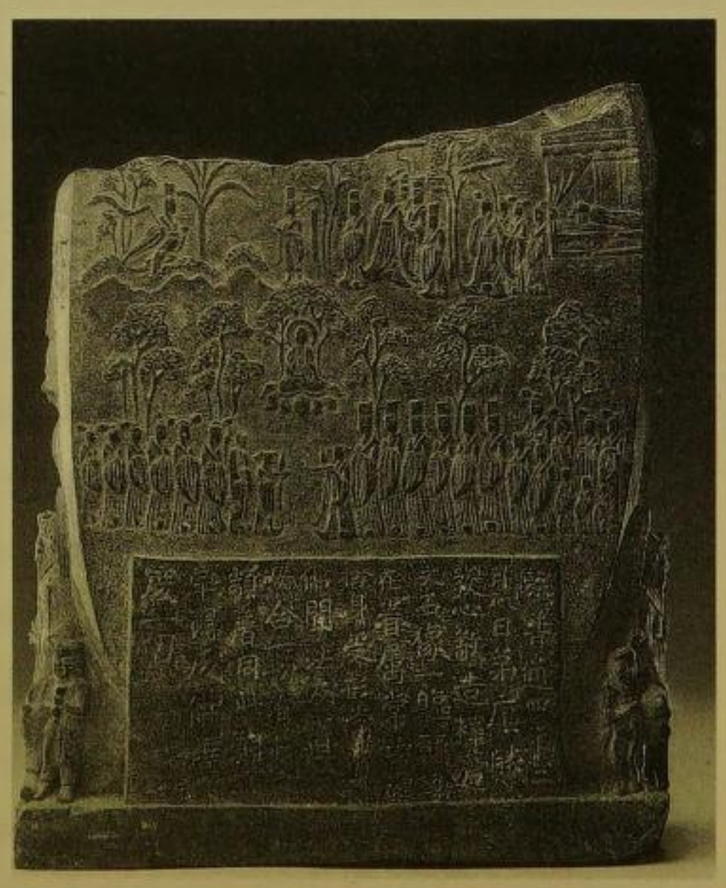


Fig. 7 Reverse of Fig. 6, Stele with Śākyamuni and Attendants

Canonical scriptures – some of Indian origin, some apocryphal – contain detailed accounts of the *imagining*, in the true meaning of the word, of Buddhist deities. These compilations of ritual prescriptions read like iconographic handbooks. They provide accurate descriptions of the figures with all their features and attributes. If we are able – despite the canonical uniformity – to perceive connections and variations in the process by which Buddhist art was slowly assimilated in China and in the complicated development of style and iconography, it is largely owing to the Chinese urge for accurate documentation. Dates, names and facts were inscribed on Buddhist sculptures with such thoroughness that, with the aid of more or less accidentally surviving material, we can reconstruct almost uninterrupted chronological sequences of dated works. This, at any rate, is generally the case in northern China, where the new religion and its arts were strongly supported by the Toba, the foreign rulers of the Wei dynasties (386-556). In southern China many of the ancient Buddhist monuments have not survived. In addition to the

date of completion or consecration of an icon and the names of its donors and beneficiaries, inscriptions often indicate the dual motivation for commissioning a Buddhist statue. The devotee intended to provide a main object of worship and at the same time to incur the manifold blessings promised by sacred texts to those who, solely or jointly, sponsored the making of an icon. According to the doctrine of *karma*, the pious donor could even transfer or extend merits and virtues to others – to the imperial house, to ancestors, to living members of the family and to "all sentient beings".

A red sandstone stele unearthed in 1954 at the ancient site of the "Thousand Buddha Temple", Wanfosi at Chengdu in Sichuan Province, depicts an elaborate configuration of the standing Buddha Śākyamuni surrounded by pairs of Bodhisattvas, deities and disciples (Figs. 6-7). A scenic composition in shallow relief on the rear of the stele shows the historical Buddha worshipped by ceremonially aligned men and women in a landscape setting as he sits in meditation under a tree. The inscription below may be translated: "On the eighth day of the third month in the fourth year of the Putong [era] of the Liang [dynasty, i.e., 523] the [Buddha] disciple Kang Sheng, upon his awakening, reverently had one stone image of Śākyamuni made. We pray that his present relatives may always be at peace and quiet, and that by giving up the world [entering the priesthood] his body will be blessed with receiving a state in which he forever will see the Buddha and hear his Law. May his fathers and mothers for the past seven generations, together with all sentient beings, share one and all in this prayer. May they quickly attain Buddhahood and altogether magnificent salvation".

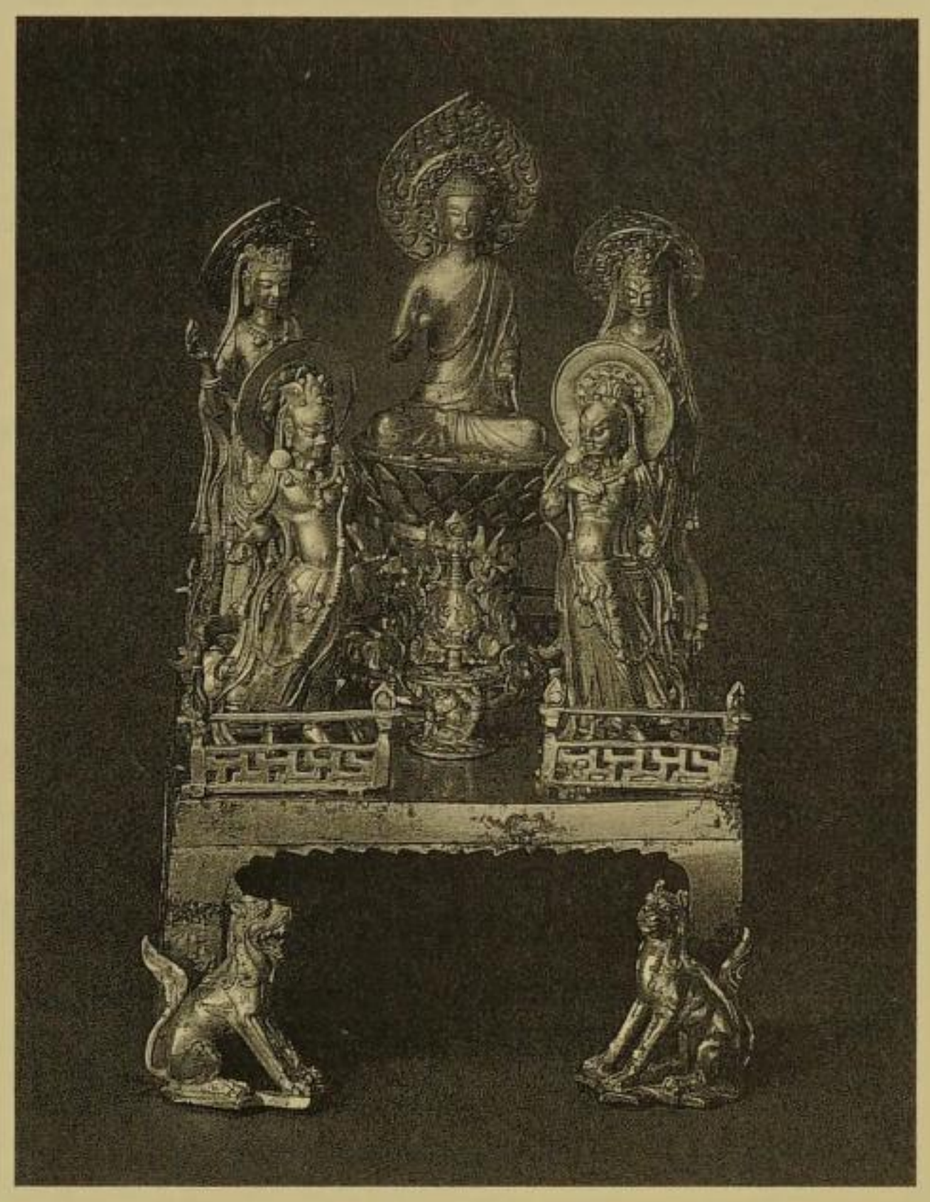


Fig. 8 Altar with Amitābha and Attendants
Sui Dynasty (581-618), dated to 584
Gilded bronze, H: 41 cm
Unearthed in 1974 at Bali village, Xi'an, Shaanxi Province
Institute for the Protection of Cultural Relics, Xi'an

On the pedestal of a gilded bronze altar, representing the Buddha Amitābha and his retinue, we find a long engraved inscription (Figs. 8-9). This masterpiece of bronze casting of the Sui dynasty is made up of twenty-three components and once served a pious person and his family members as their private altar. It was discovered in 1974 near the village of Bali in the south-eastern outskirts of Xi'an, in Shaanxi Province. The beginning of the inscription is almost formulaic: "On the fifteenth day of the seventh month in the fourth year of the Kaihuang [era, i.e., 584] the general of Ningyuan and deputy district magistrate of Wujiang [in present-day Hebei Province, by the name of] Dong Qin had this Amitābha image made, so that His Majesty the Emperor and his inner circle above and father and mother, brothers and sisters, wife and children below all may perceive the correct Law [of the Buddha]". There follows a panegyric in four verses on the prospects of salvation, on the true marks of the Buddha's body becoming manifest, on cause and effect, illusion and rebirth, and finally on salvation in Amitābha's Paradise.

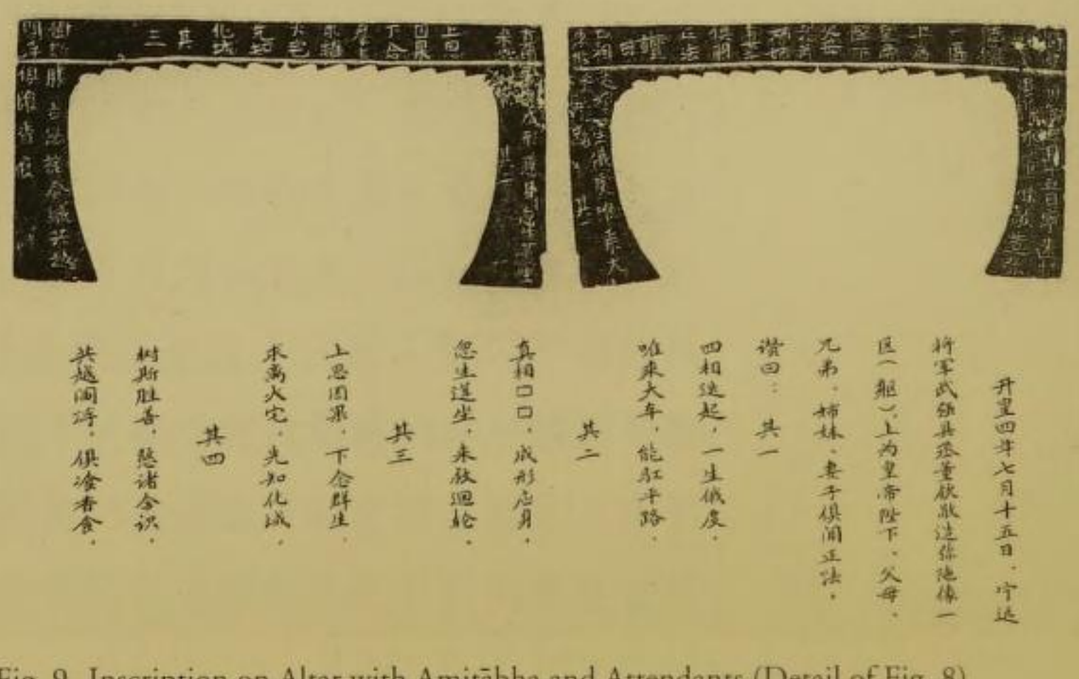


Fig. 9 Inscription on Altar with Amitābha and Attendants (Detail of Fig. 8)

Over the past decades substantive archaeological finds and results of recent research have greatly clarified and enriched our understanding of historical records and literary sources. They help to document changes in Buddhist piety, worship and faith, developments in the structure and importance of various

schools and temples, and the prominence of individual deities, saints, patriarchs, donors and rulers over the centuries. They also allow us deeper insight into the adaptation and transformation of Buddhist ideas and imageries in China, the traces and stations of the iconic journey, the nature and living tradition of Chinese Buddhist art and its liturgical foundations, iconography, style, materials and techniques and, last but not least, its perfect Sinicisation.

END NOTES

1 For a concise introduction to and full translation of the text see Sharf, R. H. 1996: pp 360-371; and for the Chinese version see Takakusu Junjirô and Watanabe Kaigyoku (eds.) 1925; (reprint) 1968: vol. 17, no. 784, pp 722a-724a.

2 See *Taishô shinshû daizôkyô*, Tokyo, 1928; reprint, *Taishô shinshû daizôkyô kankôkai*, Tokyo, 1973: vol. 51, no. 2092, p. 999a. For translation, with minor changes, by Yi-t'ung Wang, see Yang Hsüan-chih 1984: pp 5f, *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-yang*.

3 The Anguo Temple was founded in 710. Duan Chengshi (died 863) recorded in *Sita ji*, ("Notes on Temples and Pagodas" published in 853) that the Anguosi's Buddha Hall was originally the bed-chamber hall of the Emperor Xuanzong (r. 712-756). The structure was purportedly dismantled and transferred to the temple grounds by imperial decree in 713 (see Soper, A. C. 1960: pp 23f). In July 1959 local government workers digging for a water conduit discovered ten Buddhist sculptures made of finely grained white marble with traces of gold and polychromy (Fig. 5), several in badly damaged condition, in a small tunnel; they had been buried deep and were found at a depth of over ten metres. It is possible that they were commissioned in the second quarter of the 8th century for the Anguosi, which historical records locate at the ancient Changle ward in the immediate neighbourhood of the imperial palaces, just outside the north-eastern corner of present-day Xi'an. At least eight of these icons related to the Esoteric Buddhist pantheon. In their original setting the icons may have constituted a complete *mandala*.

4 See Reischauer E. O 1955: pp 381f (transl. Ennin's Diary).

5 Soper A. C. (trans.) 1959: pp 1f.

6 Soper, A. C. (trans.) 1959: p. 4.

7 *Ji shenzhou sanbao gantong lu*, in *Taishô shinshû daizôkyô* ,Tokyo, 1927; reprint, *Taishô shinshû daizôkyô kankôkai*, Tokyo, 1960, vol. 52, no. 2106, chap. 2, pp 416c-417a.

8 See Wright, A. F. 1973: p. 256.

9 Tradition holds that the Wanfo Temple was established shortly after the middle of the 2nd century. Under the Southern Liang dynasty (502-557) it was known as Anpusi, "Temple of the Peaceful Riverbank", and under the Tang (618-906) as Jingzhongsi, "Temple of the Cleansed Multitude". The first Buddhist sculptures were discovered at this site in 1882. Subsequent investigations in 1937, 1945 and 1953-1954 brought to light a total of about 200 fragments.

佛教義理和造像藝術在中國的傳播和演變

Helmut Brinker 蕪琳香

兩千多年以前，印度佛教傳入中國，它的教義儀法等頗令當時人士難於理解。佛教與其他中國宗教哲學最大的差異，是它把中國以往奉如神明的觀點和理念完全推翻。而在佛教傳播的過程中，中國面對外來學說、藝術和文字的沖擊，無論在生活、思想、家國觀念等方面都產生深刻的變化，令到固有的傳統文化藝術急劇轉變；這是中國人首次接觸完全陌生的外來信仰及崇高的宗教義理。佛教終於可以立足中國，主要是它能包容其他的哲學理論和宗教禮儀，又能把儒道兩家思想兼收並蓄。

佛教傳入中國初期，佛像散見各地，並混入中國風格。印度的傳統佛教紋飾常雜以道教信仰、人物和風尚，而在風格技巧方面，表現出與墓室裝飾相類似。佛教的造像需要漢化，融入中國人熟悉的形態模式，寫經的情況也是一樣。最初，佛教結社只是在一些大城市外國商人集中的地區出現，這新宗教逐漸地吸引無數中國本土信徒，形成自四世紀以來，中國宗教生活大體上以佛教為中心。

一般人認為漢明帝夢見的是最早的佛像，佛教約於公元六十四至七十五年間傳入中國。實際上，佛像極可能是外國商旅及傳教士從中亞陸路或東南亞水路攜帶入中國。我們相信大部份受人膜拜的佛像都是鎏金青銅製成的，它們的光亮表面正好表現佛陀真身發出的太陽光芒。直至約公元二百年或東漢末年，中國人才開始製造這類佛像，以求達到每個信眾都能“見佛”的目的。

在寺院的各種造像中，最重要的是“本尊”，而備受重視的是“形像”，也就是造像的手印形相。而“影像”的特徵則是造像本身的表現；外觀是一個空相，欠缺性靈，只局限於視覺方面的感悟，唯有通過一定的儀式，把雕像從“形像”或“影像”轉化為“本尊”，才能拯救和引導信眾得道。

源自印度及偽託的經文都有對佛教諸神的形像詳細記載。這些規條猶如一本形像學手冊，準確地描述了各種佛教人物的特徵和法器。總括來說，基於形相限制，佛教造像在藝術創作和革新方面少有突破。但在另一方面，中國地域廣大，不同地區的信眾熱誠和思想，以及造像物料和分佈，加上印度和中亞美學受漢化的影響，促使中國的佛教造像產生出人意表、變化多端的風格。由於中國人對文字記錄力求準確，所以我們可在種種法規下，感受到佛教藝術在中國逐步融入社會的變化過程，產生在風格和形像方面的複雜發展。中國的佛教造像多刻有詳盡銘文，內容有關製作年代、姓名和事件始末，而通過這些倖存的資料，我們可以有系統地把它們的歷史發展整理出來。

過去數十年來，大量考古文物的出土和近年的研究成果補充和豐富了我們對佛教文獻的認識，幫助我們考證佛像、佛教義理、不同流派和廟宇的發展，以及各知名佛教人物的歷史。

Setting for the Faith: Icons in Space in Early Chinese Monasteries

Puay-peng Ho

It is generally recognised that when Buddhist deities were first introduced to China they were regarded as similar to indigenous Daoist deities and mythical beings,[1] and Buddhist teachings were thought to be akin to those of Daoism. In this early period, the way in which Buddhist images were worshipped was also patterned on Daoist practices. Few temples and shrines were built solely for Buddhist usage at this time, and the small shrines that were built to house Buddhist deities were mainly of the Chinese form and very similar to other Daoist edifices. However, buildings were constructed in the so-called "foreign style" to house Indian and Central Asian monks, and these shrines also contained images of the Buddha that served as the focus for worship and meditation. Other objects of worship in this period included the *stūpa* and pagodas.[2] In architecture, images and prescribed rituals one can clearly see a development process from the archaic and heavily foreign-influenced form of this early period to the sumptuous, formalised layout of the Song dynasty, by which time Chinese Buddhism had become totally Sinicised and formalised. All in all, four stages may be seen in this process of development, which lasted for about a millennium. This article will trace this process by examining texts, extant buildings and cave temples within the context of the development of Chinese Buddhist thought. It will describe how space was occupied by Buddhist images and the way in which ritual was used to emphasise the prevalent Buddhist school of thought and practice.

I. Period of Borrowing (1st century CE-386)

It is difficult to ascertain when Buddhism first entered China, but it probably aroused the interest of the higher social class in the 1st century CE.[3] It is also uncertain how Buddhist ideals were represented during this early period. One record indicates that Buddhist images were painted and placed on high platforms for the imperial family to worship, in much the same way as Daoist deities were worshipped in palaces.[4] The same text also mentions the building of Baimasi (White Horse Monastery) outside the west gate of the capital city Luoyang, said to be the first monastery built in China.[5] On the wall of a hall in the monastery there was said to be a mural depicting thousands of cavaliers circling a *stūpa*.[6] Although the authenticity of this record is doubtful, the subject matter of the mural may reflect the early Buddhist practice of circumambulating the *stūpa*, a symbol of the Enlightenment of the Buddha. The worship of Buddhist images was also probably not uncommon at this time. Evidence for this is provided by Ze Rong (*circa* 188-?), a military officer supervising food transportation and said to be a zealous Buddhist. Several sources mention that he built a lavish monastery in Xuzhou (in present-day Jiangsu Province) to house an image of the Buddha.[7] The text reads:

> Ze Rong ...cast an image in bronze, painted the body with gold, and clothed it with many-coloured silk. Gilt bronze plates of nine layers were hung, and below were storied pavilions, towers and passageways. Altogether [the building] could accommodate 3,000 people, all engaged in the reading of the Buddhist scriptures.[8]

The main purpose of the building was clearly to house the gilt bronze image of the Buddha. It is interesting to note that the building was topped with nine layers of bronze discs, very similar to those erected on a *stūpa*.[9] It may well be that the image was housed in a *stūpa*-like building, the design of which was influenced by a foreign prototype,[10] or that the discs were simply meant to show the honoured position of the Buddha, following the Indian practice.[11] What is clear is that the hall mentioned in the text was very elaborate and that the compound in which the building was located was large enough to contain 3,000 people. The building was also used not only for paying homage to the Buddha but also for the reading of scriptures. On the popular level, the casting of a bronze Buddha image by Ze Rong was meant primarily to attract a mass following, and the spectacular image located in the centre of the monastery helped to draw people to the faith.

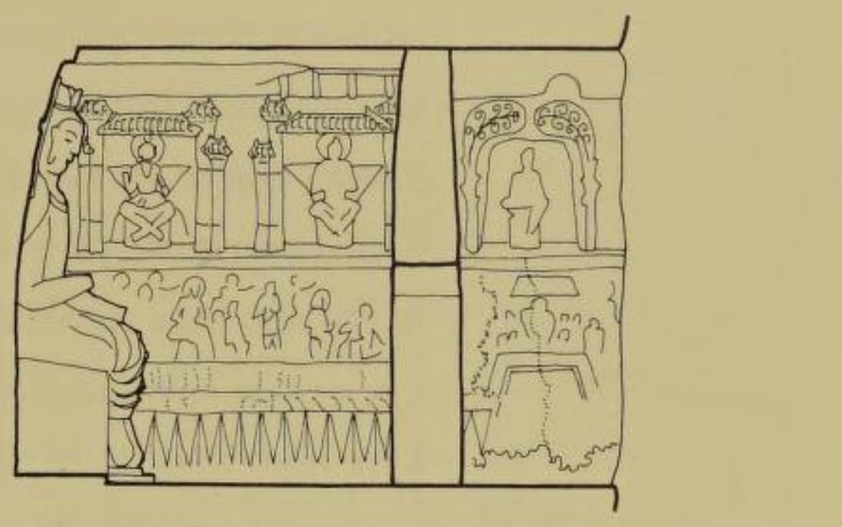


Fig. 1 Plan and sectional elevation of Cave 275, Dunhuang Grottoes, Northern Liang.

In addition to worshipping images, early Buddhists also erected and worshipped *stūpas* or pagodas. Temples constructed with a pagoda in the centre of the compound were probably influenced by Indian and Central Asian prototypes. Examples of temples with this layout are mentioned in Buddhist historical sources. In *Gaosengzhuan*, Huijiao suggests that the first Buddhist building in south China was a pagoda erected by Sun Quan (r. 222-252) the ruler of southeast China, for an eminent monk Kangsenghui (?-280). A monastery, Jianchusi (The First-Built Monastery), was later built around it (T.2059.325c.4-6). Many early pagodas would also have had images of the Buddha on the exterior walls, and would have served as objects of worship.[12] The same reverence for the pagoda can also be found in north China, as the "Shilaozhi" (Records of Buddhism and Daoism) chapter of *Weishu* (History of the Northern Wei) makes clear:

> Since Baimasi was built in the middle of the Luo [valley], the *stūpa* were richly decorated with exquisite paintings and they were square in shape. The manner of building the *stūpa*-temple was based on the Indian prototype with numerous layers, from one, three, five to nine layers. People called this a *stūpa*. During the Jin dynasty, there were 42 *stūpas* in the middle of the Luo. (*juan* 114, p. 3029)

Thus, as in the Indian and Central Asian form, in Chinese monasteries both in the north and the south, a *stūpa* or pagoda was the central object of veneration in a monastery.

II. Period of Development (386-581)

During this early period, we see two types of cave temple interiors that also probably reflect the layout of images in a monastic hall. Early Dunhuang caves are in the form of a rectangle with images placed on the wall facing the entrance. There are also images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in architectural niches on the side walls. Cave 272, dated to the Northern Liang period (412-460), contains only a seated Buddha in the central niche. This cave is said to be the worship cave, or *caitya*, in a group of three caves excavated next to each other. The other two caves are the meditation cave (*vihāra*, Cave 268) and the lecture cave (Cave 275) (Ma De 1996, pp 55-59). In Cave 268, an image of a cross-ankled Buddha was installed in the main niche, while in Cave 275 the central image is a cross-ankled Bodhisattva (Fig. 1). There are no subsidiary figures accompanying these images, which is typical of the early period. They were probably

meant as objects for meditation, much like in some caves of Ajanta. The images in these three caves are said to be depictions of Maitreya; the Bodhisattva form in Cave 275 represents Maitreya in the Tuṣita heaven waiting to be reborn on earth as the Buddha of the Future. Belief in Maitreya was introduced into China very early, and its popularity speaks of hopes for a better world in a tumultuous era. The images might also have served as votive offering since it was common during this period to sponsor the casting of a Maitreya image in the hope that donor would be reborn into Maitreya's paradise. There must therefore have been temples of the period in which the main object was a Buddhist image rather than a *stūpa*.

The other type of cave interior can be found in later caves, such as Caves 254 and 257 at Dunhuang dated to the late 5th century (Fig. 2). The rectangular interior of these caves can be divided into two parts; the front has a sloping ceiling while the rear is almost square with a central pillar. There is a seated Buddha in the niche on the side of the pillar facing the entrance. On the side walls of the cave and on the central pillar are niches containing sculpted images of Buddha and Bodhisattvas, and *jātaka* stories and donor figures are painted on the walls.[13] The images were clearly influenced by Gupta style-sculpture; the figures are seated with their feet spread on the ground, and their robes cling tightly to the body. The paintings are also derived from the Central Asian style. There are thus clear indications of Indian and Central Asian influences in the form of the cave, and in the sculptural and painting style. However, there is no evidence of a consistent iconographic programme repeated in all these caves. This may be due to the fact that the interiors were not decorated at the same time, but were individually sponsored by different patrons. Minor rituals may have been held in the front section of the cave, while the rear was possibly used for circumambulation, the two main methods of worshipping the Buddha.

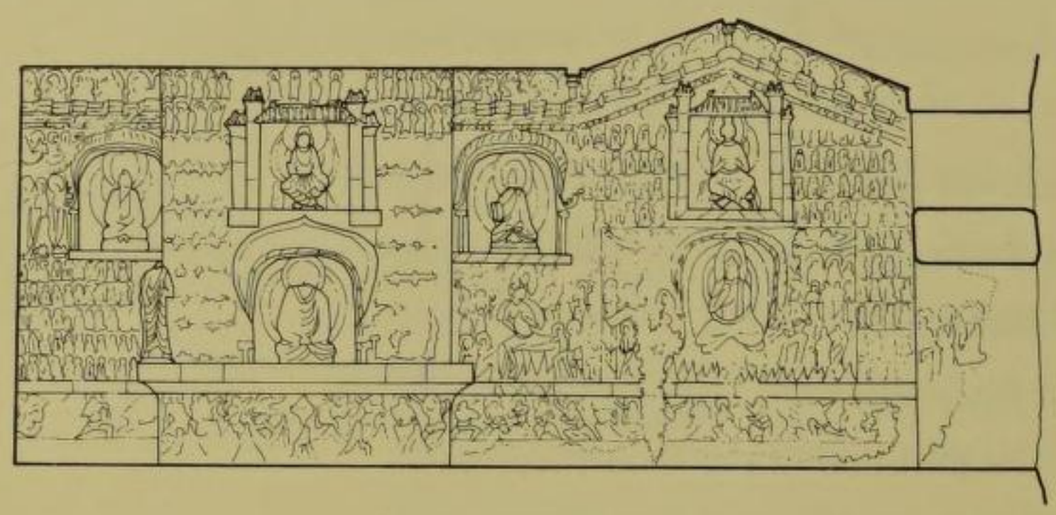


Fig. 2 Plan and sectional elevation of Cave 254, Dunhuang Grottoes, Northern Wei.

The placement of a *stūpa* at the centre of the compound in these cave temples in the west is also seen at other cave temple sites along the Hexi corridor and in central China, for example, those at the Yungang Grottoes, and the later Northern Qi caves (550-577) at the Xiangtangshan Grottoes. There is a clear pattern of development of the cave-temple layout from Liangzhou (present-day Wuwei), capital city of the Northern Liang dynasty (397-444), to Pingcheng and then Xiangtangshan. Su Bai has argued convincingly for the existence of a Liangzhou model consisting of caves with either a colossal image or a central *stūpa*-pillar.[14] Such a model can also be seen in the planning of the Yungang Grottoes. The monk Tanyao from Liangzhou was appointed Buddhist Controller in 453 and charged with supervising the excavation of the Yungang Grottoes. He was personally involved in the excavation of the first five caves at Yungang, Caves 16-20, in each of which there is a colossal Buddha figure, said to have been patterned after the likeness of a Northern Wei Emperor, and two accompanying Bodhisattvas. These caves were created as an offering to the Buddha in order to accrue merit for the emperors, rather than for worship or meditation. With the exception of these early caves, most of the other caves dating to the second period (*circa* 471-494) at Yungang contain a central pillar, which must have been influenced by the Liangzhou prototype.

The central-pillar caves at Yungang may be divided into three types depending on the way the central pillar is treated: the central pillar may be in the form of a pagoda, as in Caves 1 and 2; it can be a huge square mass sculpted with pagodas and figures, as in Caves 6 and 11; or it may consist of a seated Buddha such as those in Caves 5, 9 and 10 (Fig. 3). The coexistence of these three types indicates that both the Buddha and the pagoda were seen as objects of worship of equal significance during this period. It is also clear that the Sinicisation of Buddhism had influenced the visual representation in these caves. The pagodas were in a Chinese form and the sculptural style had also modified the Gandhāran or Gupta influences seen in Caves 16-20. Iconographically, the central pillar in Cave 6 is very interesting. It consists of two storeys; in the lower storey are various figures on each of the four faces of the pillar – Śākyamuni on the south face, Maitreya Buddha on the east face, Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna on the north face, and a cross-ankled Bodhisattva (probably Maitreya) on the west face. The lower storey thus consists of two pairs of representations; north-south featuring Śākyamuni, and east-west featuring Maitreya. On the upper storey is a central post within the canopy supported by four corner pagodas. On this post are sculpted four standing Buddhas, each facing a cardinal direction. The Buddhas all have the same *mudrā*, the right hand in *abhayamudrā* and left in *varadamudrā*. They probably represent the Buddhas of the four directions. The basic ritual at this time remained circumambulation.

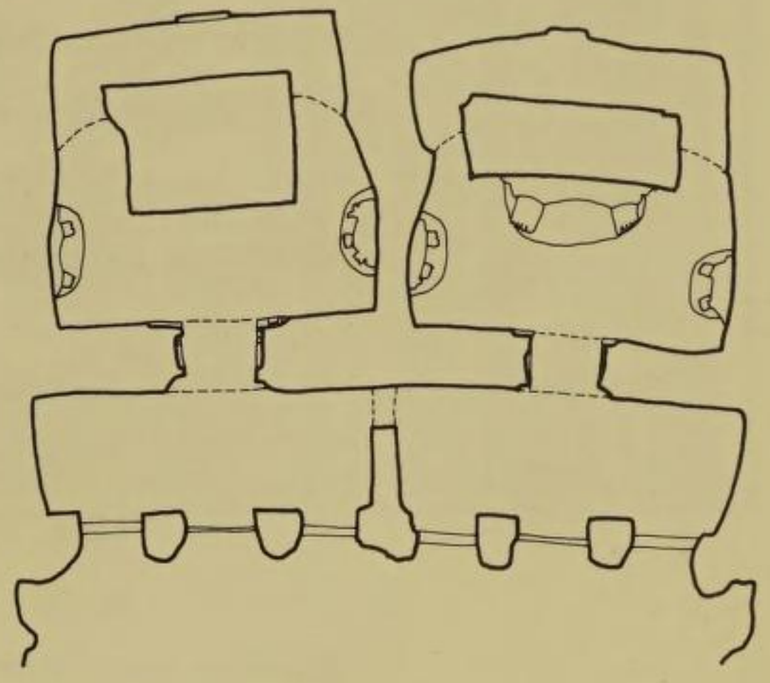


Fig. 3 Plan of Caves 9, 10 of Yungang grottoes, dated 484-89.

Some of the monasteries built at this time express a similar spatial arrangement. There were both state and other major private monasteries constructed with a pagoda at the centre of the compound, but there were also monasteries in which the main hall was the focus of the temple architecture. In the "Shilaozhi" chapter of *Weishu* is a description of the first monastery built in Pingcheng:

> In the same year [398, the emperor] began to construct a five-storeyed *stūpa*, Gṛdhrakūṭa hall and Sumeru hall, all were decorated with mural paintings and other ornamentation. In addition, a lecture hall, a meditation hall, and a building for seating monks were also constructed. (Wei, 1974, p. 3030)

The monastery was thus centered on the pagoda, with subsidiary buildings arranged around it. The name of the halls is unusual; Gṛdhrakūṭa, the Vulture Peak, was where Buddha Śākyamuni preached, and Sumeru is said to be the centre of the universe where all layers of the heavens may be found.[15] Nothing is said of the main hall of the monastery. Such spatial form can be found in many other 5th century monasteries, including the great Yongningsi (Temple of Everlasting Peace) at Pingcheng which is centered on a seven-storey pagoda and was constructed in 468. The greatest pagoda of this period was probably that at Yongningsi in Luoyang, constructed by Empress Dowager Ning in 516 and containing a nine-storey wooden pagoda.[16]

However, the majority of Northern Wei monasteries probably did not have a pagoda at the centre of their compound. Many monasteries were converted from large mansions by the owners as an act of merit. In *Luoyang qielanji* (A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang), Yang Xuanzhi mentions that the monastery Jianzhongsi was originally the mansion of the eunuch Liu Teng, which was said to have been as magnificent as the imperial palace. The front hall was converted into the Buddha hall, and the rear hall into a lecture hall (Yang 1984: pp 42-45). Another monastery, Jinlesi, is said to have had a Buddha hall containing a fine sculpture of the Buddha's carriage (*ibid.*, p. 51). Yang Xuanzhi also mentions

a nunnery that contained an exquisite sculpture of a Buddha and two Bodhisattvas, which took part in a festive parade in which more than one thousand images were assembled and taken out in processions at Jingmingsi (*ibid.*, pp 53-4). During this period, the building of a pagoda by the emperor and high officials was seen as the supreme way of gaining merit and demonstrating the extent of their patronage. However, because of the way in which mansions were converted into monasteries, and because of changes in Buddhist practices,[17] there were numerous monasteries at the capital consisting of a main hall, in which the Buddha and his retinue were worshipped, and a lecture hall.

Yang Xuanzhi's record also contains descriptions of the images housed in these monasteries. In the famous Yongningsi in the capital Luoyang, the main hall contained:

> ...a golden statue of the Buddha eighteen Chinese feet high,[18] and ten medium-sized images – three of sewn pearls, five of woven golden threads and two of jade. The superb artistry was matchless, unparalleled in its day. (Yang 1984, p. 16)

There is no mention in this record of how the images were placed in the hall, but it is natural to assume that at the centre was the colossal image, surrounded by the other ten images organised around the enormous space, which is said to have equalled the main audience hall of the imperial palace. Yang also notes that Changqiusi contained an image of Śākyamuni riding on a six-tusked white elephant floating in mid-air, probably a reference to the scene of the Buddha's birth. This statue is also said to have taken part in annual ritual processions around the city and to have drawn a great crowd[19] (*ibid.*, pp 43-44). A simple triad of a Buddha and two Bodhisattvas of exquisite workmanship was housed in the main hall of Zhaoyi Nunnery (*ibid.*, p. 53), and the small Zongshengsi [temple] held a colossal image of the Buddha some 38 feet tall (about 10.55 metres), which is also said to have taken part in religious processions (*ibid.*, p. 72). Although there is no record of the way in which these images were placed in the hall and how they were used in rituals, it can be assumed that they were placed centrally against a wall in the hall, in a way similar to the images in the contemporaneous Longmen Grottoes. In the latter are Buddha triads consisting of a Buddha and two Bodhisattvas, and the commonly seen five-image groups that include the two disciples – Kāsyapa and Ānanda. In some caves, for example, the Huangpugong Cave completed in 527, two further Bodhisattvas were added to the five-image group.

III. Period of Maturity (581-907)

The increasing emphasis on the Buddha hall rather than the pagoda in monastic architecture continued into the Sui and Tang Dynasties, long considered the apogee of Chinese Buddhism. This is not to say that there were no pagodas built in this period. On the contrary, many imposing pagodas were erected at this time, but only very few were placed at the centre of the monastic layout and they were not revered as the essential icon of the Buddha.[20] In extant texts it is the resplendent Buddha hall and the images contained therein that are emphasised, probably an indication of the change in Buddhist practices during the period. Most larger monasteries are said to have consisted of many cloisters and to have contained an imposing hall at the heart of the monastery complex. A pagoda was often placed in one of the subsidiary cloisters. The breaking down of the monastery complex into cloisters also reflects the multiplicity of Buddhist schools and practices at this time.[21] Each of these side cloisters would have contained a Buddha hall for worshipping the Buddha, as well as halls for meditation and teaching. Daoxuan's description of the famed Jeṭavanavihāra (Fig. 4), clothed in Chinese architectonic language, demonstrates one such example.[22]

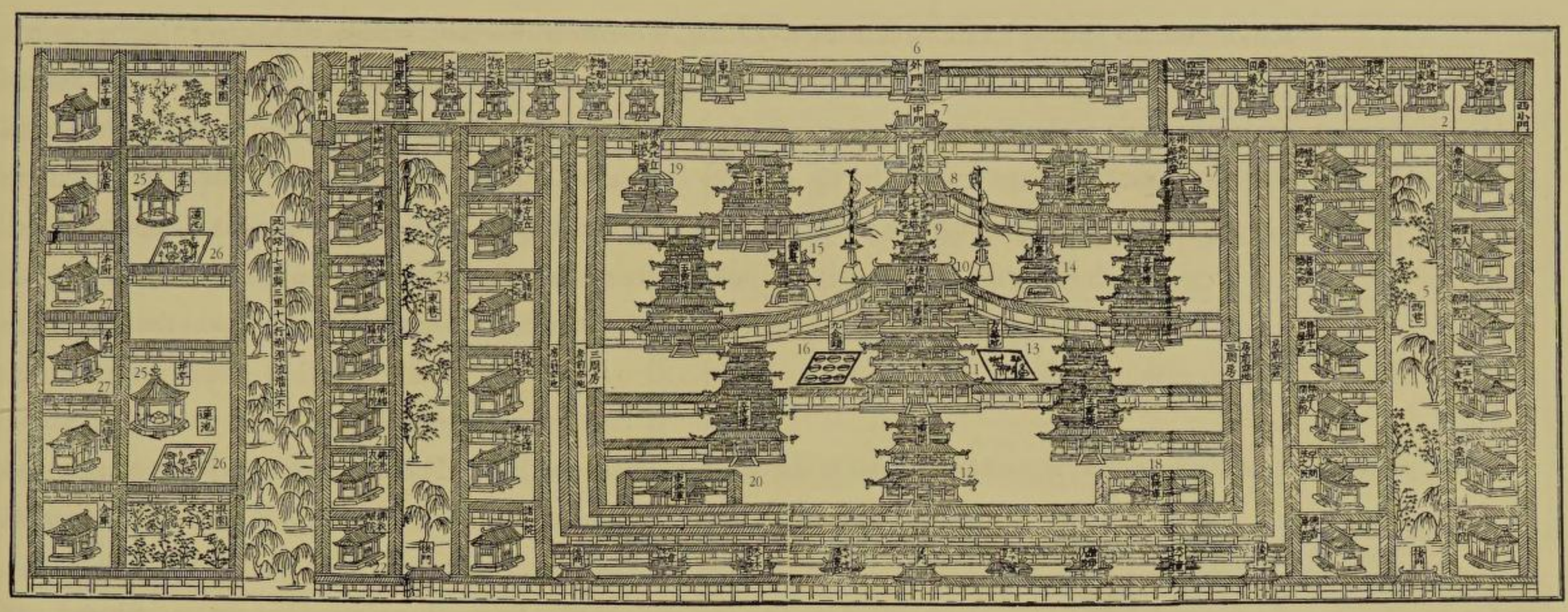


Fig. 4 A diagram illustrating the Jetavanavihāra according to Daoxuan's description.

At the same time, the number of images in a Buddha hall also multiplied, which was probably related to the popularity of the Mahāyāna deities. This can be clearly seen in the early Tang caves (637-675)[23] at the Longmen Grottoes, in which, in addition to the five basic images of the Buddha, Bodhisattvas and disciples, there are also images of a pair of *lokapālas* or *devarāja* and a pair of *vajrapāṇi*.[24] This increase in the number of images at the main altar appears to reflect the increased emphasis on the Mahāyāna belief in a multitude of Buddhist beings. This is clearly seen in the arrangement of the altar at various cave temple sites,[25] for example, the early Tang Cave 331 at Dunhuang has nine images in its central niche: a Buddha, two disciples, two major Bodhisattvas, a pair of attending Bodhisattvas, and two *vajrapāṇi*. An even greater number of deities were worshipped in the later period. A 9th or 10th century text recording the ritual of praying for the deceased by distributing food to the various deities mentions the Vairocana Buddha, the Buddhas of the Four Directions, six major Bodhisattvas – Manjuśri, Avalokiteśvara, Kṣitigarbha, Mahāsthamaprāpta, Sāmantabhadra and Cintāmaṇicakra, the five hundred *arhat*, all heavenly beings, the four heavenly kings, and others.[26] It is said that these deities were invoked so that the offerings to them could be completed, and they would bless the deceased in the Pure Land. It is not clear if these deities were represented on one ritual platform, but it would not be surprising if they had been represented either as sculpted images or painted on banners, such as those in this exhibition (cat. nos 82-89) and placed on a platform.

In addition to their placement on a platform inside a cave temple, throughout China deities of all types were represented in numerous locations inside a monastery. The art critic Zhang Yanyuan's description of Jing'aisi (Monastery of Respect and Affection) in Luoyang[27] clearly illustrates the range of the more important images to be found in a large 7th century monastery (Zhang 1973, pp 71-73). The monastery must have been rather extensive and have contained numerous cloisters. Zhang reports that the central cloister housing the main Buddha hall had a central gate with sculptures of the deities of both the west and the east. These are said to have been made by two different sculptors, and the one to the east is further described as a holy image. These were probably the guardians to be found in gate buildings in most monasteries,[28] such as those flanking the central gate of the Buddha hall cloister at the Horyuji or Todaiji in Nara. Zhang also records that there were images of an unidentified Bodhisattva and a Maitreya in his Bodhisattva form under a tree in the main Buddha hall at Jing'aisi, both styled after a painting of the Bodhisattva brought back by Wang Xuanche[29] from the Western Regions in 665. Wang himself is said to have directed the making on these images, which involved three sculptors and a fourth person

responsible for gilding them. According to Zhang, there were two more images of Maitreya in the eastern and western bays of the hall, again sculpted by different artisans. The halls thus housed a total of three Maitreya images. The nimbuses and mandorlas behind these figures, and the depictions of people reborn into the Pure Land were carved by yet another craftsman. Zhang Yanyuan concludes that: "All these images housed in the hall for the purpose of claiming merits were sculpted by various skilful craftsmen. Their creative thought resulted in majestic and ornate sculptures that were highly praised by all people" (*ibid.*). Further descriptions of sculptures and wall murals in other cloisters and buildings in the monastery are also contained in Zhang's account:

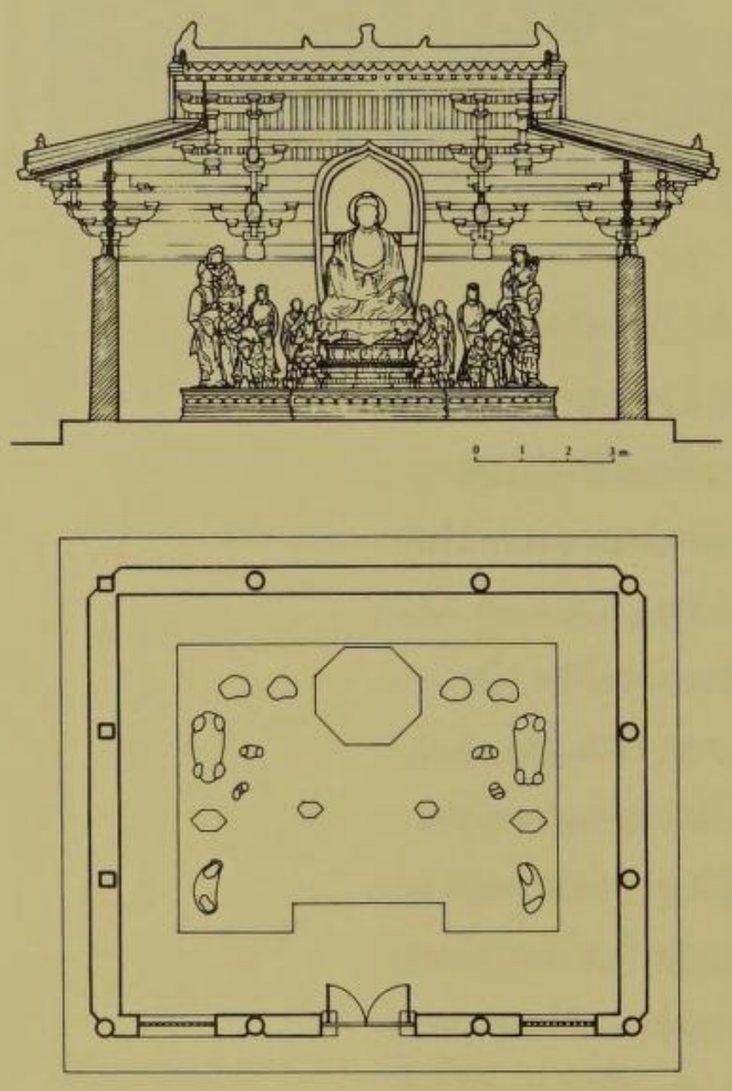


Fig. 5 Plan and section of the main hall of Nanchansi, Mount Wutai, dated 782.

In the hall of the West Meditation Cloister[30] are sculpted Buddhist images and Mount Sumeru by Dou Hongguo. The Buddhist images in the east Meditation Hall and Wisdom [*prajña*] Platform, the two guardian gods of the central gate, four *vajrapāṇi*, two sets of lions held by Kunlun slaves [African lion tamers], the *vajrapāṇi* and mythical kings who welcome and send [devotees in and out of the monastery], and the four great lions were all sculpted by Dou. He also sculpted the two holy monks in the two refectories and the lecture hall.

On the east wall of the main hall are murals illustrating *Vimalakīrtisūtra*, and the story of the prince in the *Lotus Sūtra*. On the west wall the Buddha assembly in the West, the Sixteen Visualisations, and the Yama kings. The north wall of the West Meditation Cloister was decorated with illustrations of *Avataṁsakasūtra*, to the west of the door on the north wall is the Buddha assembly with landscape and figure paintings all contained within a bay of the building. On the east and west walls are illustrations of Maitreya and the Western Paradise, there are also traveling monks painted on the outside wall. The murals in the western corridor, illustrations of the Moon and Sun Bodhisattvas and the story of remitting blessings were all from the hand of Wu Daozi. In the Eastern Meditation Cloister are illustrations of the ten Yama kings, the Western Paradise on the east wall, Bodhisattva and other murals. There are also great ornamented canopies in the lecture hall, great copper censors, banners made of painted fabric and copper and gold in the monastery.

Here we see that the monastery was organised into distinct cloisters each serving a different practice or school of thought. Within the cloister, guarded by a central gate, was a hall in which there were images and murals, as well as other ritual paraphernalia, such as the censors. From these descriptions it would seem that there was no consistent iconography. For example, the illustration of the Western Pure Land could appear on either the east or west hall of the different cloisters, not just in the Pure Land cloister. Such a haphazard arrangement may reflect the wishes of the donor for the images and illustrations to be produced in a particular hall, and with the presence of all these images and paintings, the interiors must indeed have appeared incredibly sumptuous. The main hall of this monastery seems to have contained several images of Maitreya, both depicted as a Bodhisattva and as a Buddha. There must also have been banners within the hall, adding to the sacred milieu.

It is now difficult to reconstruct the exact layout of a temple hall because of a lack of extant source material. We have only two halls from this period with their images left intact. One of these is the main hall of Nanchansi (South Meditation Monastery) at Mount Wutai in Shanxi Province which is dated to

782 (Fig. 5). On a low dais at the centre of the hall are seventeen images, including representations of the Śākyamuni Buddha, the two great Bodhisattvas – Manjuśri and Sāmantabhadra – two disciples, two pairs of Bodhisattvas, a pair of *devarāja*, and minor figures. They occupy almost the entire dais, while the dais takes up almost the entire interior of the hall, leaving a circumambulatory path only approximately one metre in width. The dais is shaped like a Sumeru platform. Seckel has suggested that the "Sumeru terrace of the 'altar'" used in the Buddhist hall in east Asian monasteries indicates that the hall is meant to be read as a Buddha land (Seckel 1989, p. 77). The complete array of images in the main hall of Nanchansi suggests that the interior of the hall is probably a representation of Śākyamuni's Buddha land where he presides. This same layout can also be found in the main hall of a small monastery – Zhengguosi near Pingyao in Shanxi province, dated to 963. There are, however, only eleven images in this hall. These two examples probably represent a popular way of arranging the interior and images in small monasteries of the period.

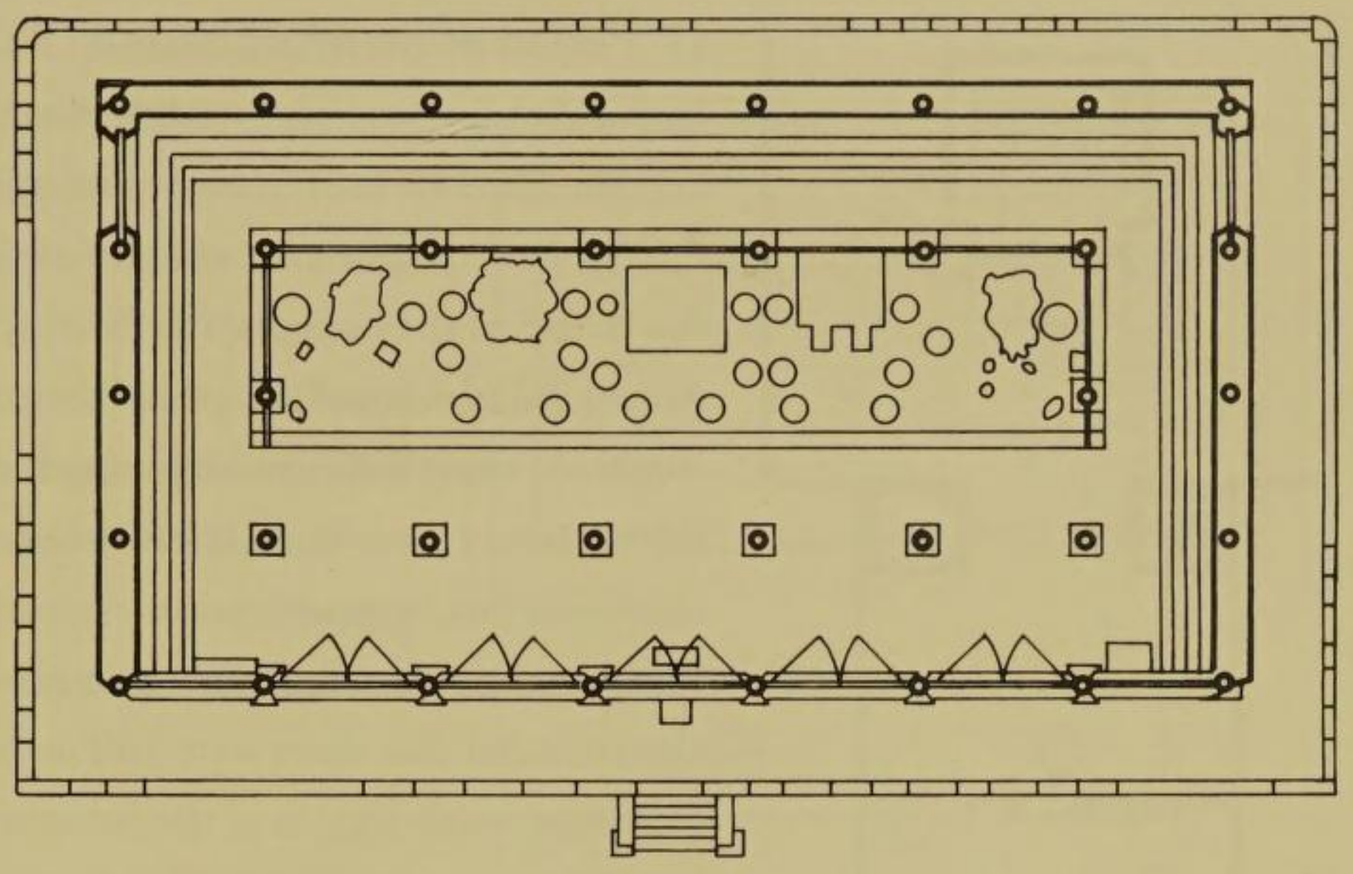


Fig. 6 Plan of the eastern main hall of Fuguangsi (Buddha's Light Monastery), Mount Wutai, dated 857.

The other extant example is the Great Eastern Hall at Foguangsi, also located in Wutai county. This hall, which is dated to 857, contains a high platform that occupies almost all of the rear half of the interior (Fig. 6). There are thirty-six images arranged roughly into three main groups on the platform. The central group consists of Buddha Śākyamuni, two disciples, two attendant Bodhisattvas, and a pair of Bodhisattvas making offerings. The southern group is comprised of Buddha Maitreya, two pairs of attending Bodhisattvas and two Bodhisattvas making offerings. The same number of attending figures surround the Buddha Amitabha in the northern group. Outside these three groupings are the major Bodhisattvas Manjuśri and Sāmantabhadra, and a pair of *devarāja*. These images denote not just one, but three Buddha-lands. The manner of worship must also have been different; the large space in the front of the platform suggests that rituals must have consisted of burning incense and monks chanting in front of the images, in addition to circumambulation. This form of hall interior became ubiquitous in halls of a later date, indicating the establishment of a Chinese model from at least the 9th century.

One specific layout of a Buddhist hall that was introduced in the Tang dynasty is derived from the Esoteric tradition. Although Tantric *sūtra* were translated into Chinese prior to the Tang, it was only during the Kaiyuan era (713-741) that Tantric Buddhism gained popularity at all levels of society. Jingesi on Mount Wutai, which was built to house the Tantric sect supported by the emperor, is said to have had a hall containing a *maṇḍala* with many layers, and Tantric images were placed on the altar for worship and rituals. A diagram on a manuscript from Dunhuang, probably dated to the 9th century, records just such an arrangement.[31] At the centre of the altar is Vairocana Buddha, to the east Akṣobyha, to the west Amitabha, to the south Ratnasambhava, and to the north Weimiaoshengfo, probably Amoghasiddhi. In addition to these figures, major Bodhisattvas and *vajrapāṇi* are located around the central altar. The entire assembly is termed the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*, one of the cultivation of spirituality diagrams of Tantric Buddhism. One of the most significant aspects of this school was therefore the *maṇḍala* altar. The same layout can also be found in Qing dynasty Tantric monasteries in China, where very few changes have occurred since the Tang period.

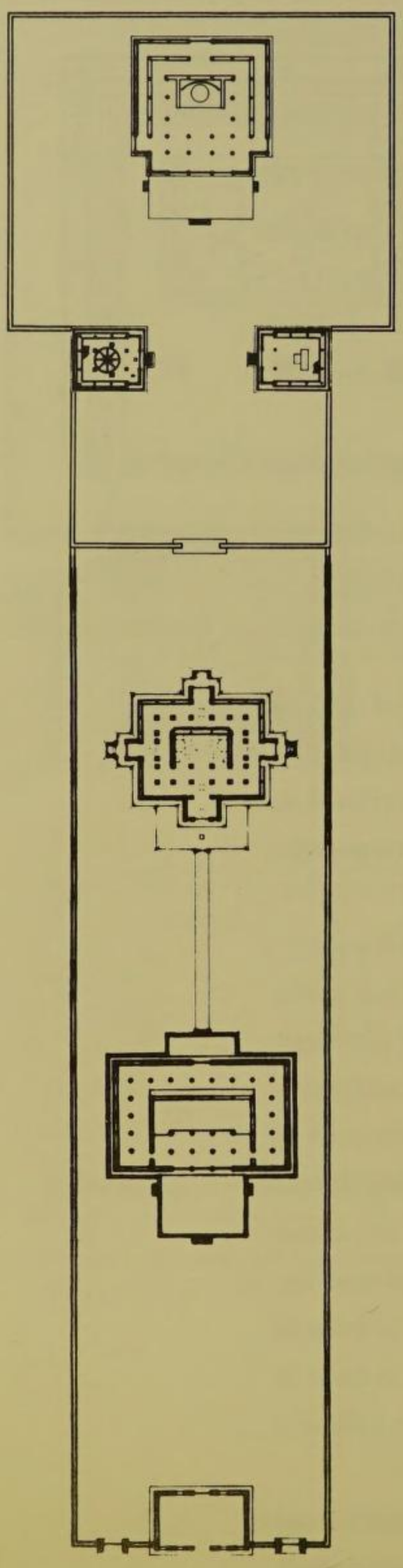


Fig. 7 Plan of the Song dynasty Longxingsi, Zhengdong, Hebei Province, 11th-12th centuries.

IV Period of Standardisation (907-1279)

In the 10th century, large monasteries would have had more than one major hall in the main cloister. There are many extant buildings from this period, which makes it easier to understand their general monastic layout. Daxiangguosi, a major Song dynasty monastery, is located in the centre of the Song capital Kaifeng. The monastery was first constructed in 555 and named Fuhuisi; it was renamed Xiangguosi in 712. It is said that the monastery originally contained many different buildings, but all were razed to the ground in a fire in 891. When the monastery was rebuilt, it was one of the larger monasteries of the Song dynasty, containing numerous buildings within the core cloister.[32] There are three main gate buildings, of which the second gate is said to have contained the four heavenly kings (Meng 1961, p. 92). It is also recorded that there were 500 *louhan* (*arhats*) on the gate (*ibid.* p. 91). The main hall contained many images of the Buddha constructed with a cane armature or bronze body, and the numerous other halls and pavilions each housed a different deity, for example, the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Kṣitigarbha.[33] It appears that Song monasteries contained representations of many more deities than are found in monasteries of the Tang period, and that buildings were built specifically to house different deities.

The same complex layout and iconographic programme can be found in another major extant monument from the Song dynasty, the Longxingsi (Temple of the Rise of the Dragon) in Zhengding, Hebei Province (Fig. 7). Again, at its peak, this monastery contained numerous cloisters, but only the two central cloisters remain today. There were probably three main buildings in the main cloister – the gate of the heavenly kings, the hall of the Six Masters of the Great Awakening and the Śākyamuni hall. The first hall contained images of the Four Heavenly Kings guarding the sacred ground of the monastery. The second hall, which has been completely destroyed except for the column bases, probably contained six Buddha figures, although their iconography is unclear.[34] The third hall along the central axis of the monastery contains an image of Śākyamuni and his usual Bodhisattva attendants. The building dates to 1052, as do the images on the main platform. It is clear from the way that the images were placed in the two main halls that they were meant for communal rituals, which would have taken place directly in front of the images. There is thus ample room between the door and the altar platform. To the north of the main Buddha cloister is another cloister containing three major buildings, Foxiangge (Pavilion of Buddha's Fragrance), which houses a colossal image of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva dated to the Song dynasty, and two smaller pavilions from the 12th century. These three pavilions form a rectangular courtyard. The eastern pavilion houses an image of Maitreya and the western pavilion is a *sūtra* repository. The exact purpose of this cloister is not known, but the colossal image is considered an important and auspicious Song period image. This monastery illustrates the way in which deities were positioned among the various buildings, which is similar to that found in descriptions of Tang monasteries.

Also during this period, large monasteries were sponsored by the ruling houses of the 'non-Chinese' Liao and Jin dynasties, and these were similarly organised. Some of these monasteries are extant. In these examples we see a mixture of Buddhism and the indigenous traditions of the different races, for example, some of the temples have halls facing to the east, but by and large, the spatial organisation and placement of images in the halls follow that of the Han Chinese in the 10th century. Two of these halls are of gigantic proportions, and are posssibly among the largest extant wooden buildings in China. The main

hall of Fengguosi in Yixian, Liaoning Province, dates to 1020 (Fig. 8). It consists of nine bays and houses seven images of the Buddha, including Vairocana and six Buddhas of past ages. These figures are placed on a platform, and each is accompanied by a group of subsidiary figures consisting of Bodhisattvas, monks and minor figures. In the main halls of Dahuayansi (dated to 1140) and Shanhuasi (dated to 1128), both in Datong in Shanxi Province, images of the Buddhas of the five directions are similarly organised on a platform. These images represent the major groups of Buddhas in the Chinese Buddhist system. The manner of worship probably involved praying to the central Buddha and then to each of the other Buddhas in turn.

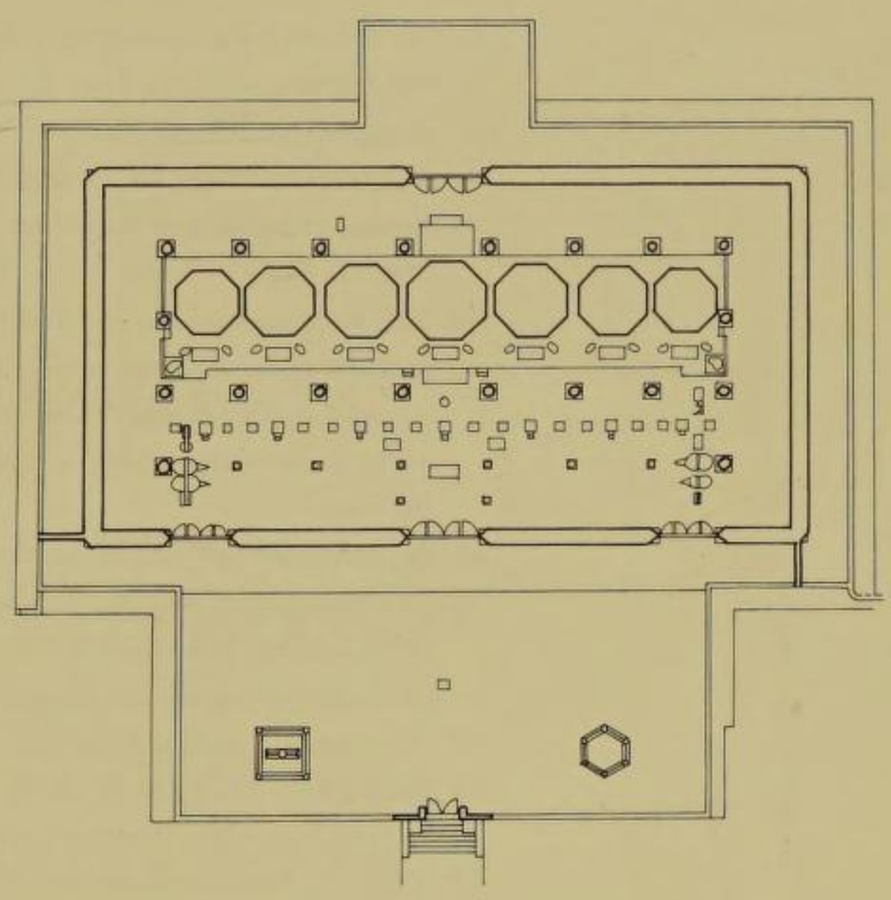


Fig. 8 Plan of the main hall of Fengguosi, Yixian, Liaoning, dated 1020.

Summary

In this brief survey, we have seen the development of iconography in Chinese Buddhism from simple representation to a complete array of Mahāyāna images. In the early period, Buddha and his teaching were represented by a simple icon of the Buddha or a pagoda. These were placed centrally in a hall or cloister for worship and circumambulation, or as aids to meditation. In some instances, the images were made as votive offerings. At the peak of Chinese Buddhism during the Tang dynasty, more images and *sūtra* illustrations were added to the representations within a temple complex, and these were placed at various locations inside the complex. Cloisters dedicated to a specific Buddhist school or method of training were constructed, each with its own specific iconographic programme. Many new schools were introduced during this period, which resulted in a new form of monastic layout and placement of the images they contained. In smaller halls of the period one can find a full array of Buddhist images representing the Pure Land of the Buddha and centred on one Buddha image. However, in large monasteries, the number of Buddha images in a hall increased, resulting in the representation of either three, five or seven Buddhas in the main hall, a form that continues to this day. During the 11th century, the layout of the monastic architecture and the images housed in the halls became more or less standardised, and the developmental process of the first millennium of Chinese Buddhism was thus completed. This architectural layout and the images housed within the monastery hall did not change significantly during the second millennium.

END NOTES

1 See Zürcher 1959: pp 26-28 for a historical survey of Buddhism of this period. He points out that extant texts describing the early existence of Buddhist belief were written mainly in the 4th century and later, and are thus unreliable for events that occured in the mid 1st century BCE. See also a similar discussion in Ren Jiyu vol. 1, 1981: pp 87-105. See also Tsukamoto 1985: pp 51-78 for a summary of the early history of Chinese Buddhism. In *Hou Hanshu* (History of the Later Han Dynasty), Buddhism is mentioned as a parallel of Daoism, rather than being subsumed within the general description of Daoism. See *Hou Hanshu, juan* 7, p. 320, where Hengdi (r. 147-167) is said to have worshipped both the Buddha and Laozi.

2 In this article, the term *stūpa* is used to denote a reliquary for the remains of the Buddha or a monk, or simply a memorial building in Indian style, while the term pagoda is used to denote the Chinese form of a *stūpa*.

3 One of the earliest aristocrats who is recorded to have paid homage to the Buddha is Yin, the Prince of Chu, see *Hou Hanshu, juan* 42, p. 1428.

4 See *Ji gujin Fojiao lunheng*, in T.52.364a.6-8, and a discussion in Ren Jiyu vol. 1, 1981: p. 99. See translation and discussion in Soper 1959: pp 1-3, in which Soper comments: "The triple procession celebrated the most formal act of worship in early Buddhism, the circumambulation or *pradakṣina* around a *stūpa* with its relics. Back of the Han fresco must have stood as distant prototypes such Indian works as the reliefs of Sanci and Bhārhut" (p. 3).

5 There are a few monasteries said to have been the first Chinese Buddhist temple, such as that located on Mount Wutais, the sacred mountain of Mañjuśrī in Shanxi Province. It is, however, difficult to pinpoint the first temple. Most probably it was located in Luoyang, the capital, or in the western part of the country where Buddhism took root much earlier than in the heartland of the vast empire. There are records of a foreigner being asked by the emperor to build a Pure Abode, or a simple temple, outside the west gate of Luoyang, which may later have been turned into Baimasi [White Horse Temple]. In *Gaosengzhuan*, Huijiao (497-554) states that when Buddhism entered China, only foreigners were allowed to have a building constructed for the Buddha. These structures were located to the west of Luoyang. See T.2059.385c.7-9. See a discussion of Baimasi in Ren Jiyu vol. 1, 1981: pp 101-3.

6 See *Ji gujin Fojiao lunheng*, in T.52.364a.5-6.

7 See a discussion in Ren Jiyu, vol. 1, 1981: pp 151-56; Tsukamoto 1985: pp 72-5.

8 *Sanguozhi, juan* 49, p. 1185, cf. *Hou Hanshu, juan* 73, p. 2368.

9 The rings on a *stūpa* are attached to a central spire. The spire is the parasol and the discs represent its many layers. The entire assembly conveys honour and respect to the person underneath the parasol, which in this case is the Buddha. See the significance of the construction in Snodgrass 1985: p. 328.

10 This building is said to be the *stūpa*- temple form of Buddhist architecture, see Zhang 1997: p. 160. While the layout with a central *stūpa* was probably quite common in this period, there is no conclusive evidence that the building referred to in the text is a *stūpa* or a tower. The disc decoration, presumably on the roof, could have been placed on a normal rectangular building, rather than specifically on a *stūpa*. The intention of the author was probably to highlight the special feature of the Buddhist building, with the disc decoration, rather to point out the form of the building.

11 Soper believes that the narrator had participated in the building of a pagoda and a Buddha hall, see Soper 1959: p. 5.

12 In *Fayuan zhulin, juan* 38, Daoshi records a miraculous pagoda seen in Huiji (present-day Shaoxing in Zhejiang Province) during the Western Jin (281-316) that had various Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, *vajrapāṇi*, and holy monks sculpted on its exterior. See T 53.585b.10-11. This may have been an imaginary pagoda, but the description clearly indicates that there would have been a pagoda so decorated at the time.

13 For a detailed study of Cave 254, see Abe, Stanley Kenji 1989.

14 See Su Bai 1996: pp 39-51, see p. 46 in particular for the definition. Strong evidence cited by Su Bai is the movement of Northern Liang clergy to Pingcheng when Emperor Taiwu (r. 424-52) conquered the Northern Liang.

15 These two mountains may be interpreted as being contained in a hall, or serving as a background to icon groups. See Soper 1959: p. 94 for a discussion of the possible interpretations. Soper also doubts the authenticity of the record, and the description of a monastery so complete at such an early date.

16 See a description of the monastery and the pagoda in Wei 1974: 3043 and Yang Xuanzhi 1984: 15-7.

17 Yang Xuanzhi also records the preaching of Tanmozui in Rongjuesi. He was a well known expert on the meditation school and a great expositor of *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* and the *Avataṁsakasūtra*. It is also said that the Buddha hall and buildings in this monastery filled the area of a ward and more than a thousand people gathered to hear the great preaching. (*ibid.* pp 201-2)

18 This is the standard measurement of the main icon in a Chinese monastery, which is equal to about 5 metres in height.

19 The parading of auspicious images is a practice adopted in China from India and Central Asia. It probably started in the Eastern Jin dynasty when it is recorded that Dai Mu (?-396), a painter and sculptor, created five parading images. The "Shilaozhi" chapter of *Weishu* records that Emperor Taiwu (r. 424-52) often watched the parade from the palace gate on the birthday of the Buddha, and showered flowers on the parading images as a way of paying homage (Wei, p. 3032). These parades were also held to pray for the well-being of the state.

20 The pagoda, erected by Xuanzang after he returned from his journey, was placed in a west cloister of Daciensi. It is said to have been in the style of the Western Regions and was used to house the scriptures and images Xuanzang brought back. See a description in Wriggins 1996: p. 182.

21 Many monasteries in the Tang capital Chang'an consisted of multiple cloisters, for example, Ximingsi had 10 cloisters, Zhangjingsi 48 cloisters, and Daciensi more than 10. The same spatial arrangement can be seen in monasteries elsewhere in the empire, such as at Dashengcisi in Chengdu with 98 cloisters.

22 I have discussed Daoxuan's writings in relation to this monastery, see Ho 1995. See also Ennin's diary for vivid descriptions of how some of these cloisters were used in the 9th century, Reischauer 1955.

23 Dates of the building of Tang caves to the completion of Fengxiansi, sponsored by Gaozong and Empress Wu Zetian.

24 These are the heavenly kings guarding the four cardinal directions of Mount Sumeru, guardian deities in general, and door guardian spirits. The first appearance of *lokapāla* is traced by Soper to the Song dynasty, painted at the rear of the main hall of Jianyuansi erected at Nanjing in 474 (Soper 1959: p. 56).

25 For the iconographic programme of a Sui dynasty cave, see Baker, Janet 1996.

26 See Dunhuang manuscript S3427 kept in the British Library in British Library, vol. 5: pp 86-7.

27 The monastery was constructed for Li Zhi, the Gaozong emperor (r. 649-83), and Wu Zetian (r. 684-704) in 657 by their son Li Xian, the Zhongzong emperor (r. 705-710), while he was the crown prince. It was the most important *sūtra* translation centre in the late 7th century, particularly during the reign of Wu Zetian who made Luoyang her capital city.

28 The descriptions of Zhang, Duan Chengshi and Huang Xiufu on painting and sculpture of the time all mention various guardians found in the temple.

29 An official of the Tang dynasty who went to India as an ambassador three times – between 643-646, 657-661, and the third time unspecified. He brought back *sūtra*, images, as well as records of the music, medicinal practices and agricultural technologies from the Western Countries. See *Foguang dacidian*, pp 1509-1510.

30 West here denotes the location of the cloister in relation to the central Buddha cloister, there must have been another meditation cloister to the east of the central cloister in the monastery, so that the directional prefix provides a distinction between the two cloisters.

31 See Dunhuang manuscript S.2139 kept in the British Library in British Library, vol. 4: p. 20.

32 The monastery was the site of the famous temple festival of Song dynasty Kaifeng, as described vividly in Meng 1961.

33 In a Song dynasty description of Dashengcisi in Yizhou (present-day Chengdu), we also find the mention of many different deities placed in various halls and cloisters of the monastery. See Huang 1993: pp 189-200.

34 The layout of the inside of the hall can be gauged from the foundation remaining *in situ*. The building is very large, consisting of nine bays across the width of the front. See Ho 1997.

中國早期佛寺的空間與造像關係

何培斌

本文追溯佛教傳入中國後的一千年間的發展，重點在研究寺院的建築設計，以及佛像在寺院中的位置安排。

由公元一世紀至三八六年是第一階段的發展，可稱為“借用期”。在這階段，專為佛教而建造的寺院是很少的。一般供奉佛像的地方是小型祠堂。它們都是仿照中國本土的道觀。此外，一些佛教建築卻帶有印度和中亞色彩；除祭拜外，它們也是僧侶住宿的地方。

第二階段是“發展期”，由公元三八六至五八一年，這時期的重要佛教建置是敦煌石窟和龍門石窟。在早期方面，這些石窟的建築形式、雕塑和繪畫風格等均顯示印度和中亞的影響。在造像的位置方面，還是欠缺統一的形式。但發展至五世紀晚期，很多方面都趨向中土化。

早期的石窟寺祇設置單一款的佛陀或菩薩造像給信徒膜拜，它們同時是給供養人許願的地方，這做法顯然與日漸流行的彌勒佛信仰有密切關係。在較後期的雲岡石窟內，雕塑的形式產生變化；除造像外，在石窟的中央位置設有巨大的雕柱，造成塔的形狀，或造成塑有佛塔及造像的四方幢柱，又或者塑成一尊坐佛像。

不少這時期的寺院在設計形式上與石窟有相似的地方，它們都以塔或大殿成為建築的中心。在這階段的晚期，造像的數目由一個增至五個，以至七個，例如在五二七年建成的龍門皇甫公洞便是顯明例子。

隋唐時代是“成熟期”。在這時期建成的塔很多，然而都比不上佛殿的尊崇地位。塔很少被放置在寺院的中心，而寺院建築逐漸演變成多院式的佈局，而佛陀菩薩等造像也相繼增加。這發展反映佛教派別盛行，也說明當時流行大乘派的佛陀多體信念。

由九零七至一二七九年，佛教建築進入了“典型時期”。在中國現存的古建築物可幫助學者去了解這時期的佛教建築形式和用途。它們的外形設計和寺內造像的位置排列均日趨複雜，在始建於五五五年的開封大相國寺和在一零五二年建成於河北正定的龍興寺均可見到這些情況。在另一方面，遼金外族也曾興建大型佛寺，他們把佛教的觀念與不同族裔的傳統思想結合。不過寺院內的大堂空間和佛像位置還是跟隨十世紀漢族人的模式。

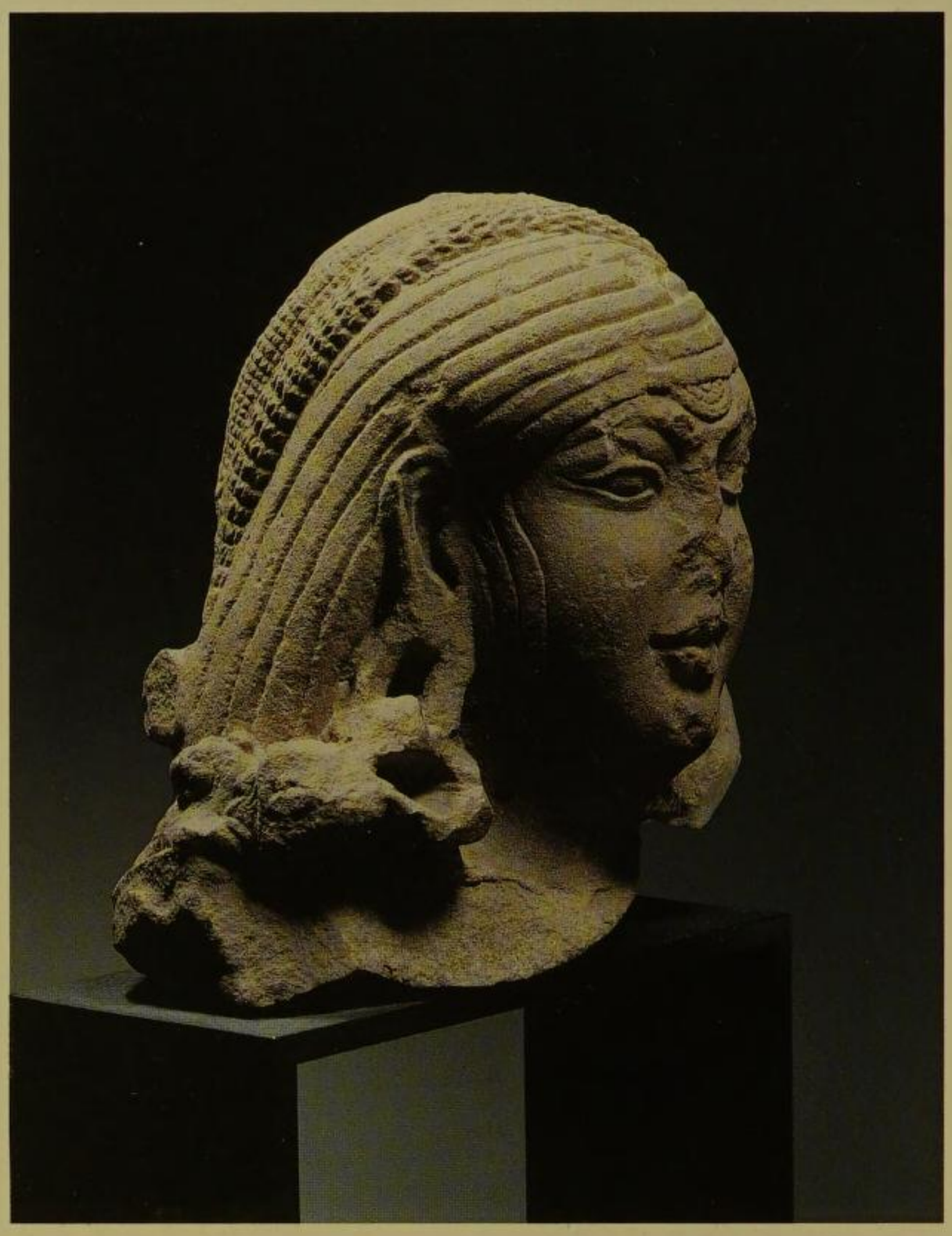
總括來說，中國佛教建築的發展是由早期的簡單而又受外國影響的模式，演變成宋元佛教全盛時期的輝煌結構。

展品目錄

CATALOGUE

1 Head of a Yakṣī 藥叉頭像

Sanchi, 1st century BCE
桑奇，公元前一世紀
Sandstone, H: 26 cm
MIK Collection I. 1



1a

This head of a *śālabhañjikā* (branch-holding *yakṣī*) is carved in the round and most probably belonged to one of the sculptures from the *stūpa*-gates at Sanchi. The softness of her broad face creates the impression of a tender smile. Her beautiful long hair is covered by a crinkled scarf decorated with flowers, and peeping out of the scarf, half a blossom is visible on the forehead. Huge ornaments hang from her elongated earlobes.

Tree goddesses are not an exclusively Buddhist concept, but already existed in early popular religions all over India. The concept underlying these depictions may be connected to the cult of a Mother Goddess that can be traced independently to Greece, the Near East, Iran and India. For thousands of years the earth in the form of *Magna Mater* had been a symbol of fertility, divine energy, even creation itself. The popularity of the cults of the Divine Mother in India, even in early times, is evidenced by their numerous sculptural representations. The figures handed down to us from the Maurya, Śuṅga and Kuśāna periods are mostly female images, generally referred to as *mātṛkā* or mother goddesses.

MY

Published: Härtel, H. 1960: pp 51-52, pl. 3

2 Fire Pillar 火柱

India, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Andhra period
Late 2nd-early 3rd centuries CE
印度，龍樹山，安陀羅時期
二世紀晚期至三世紀初期
Limestone, H: 59 cm
Cleveland Museum of Art 1943.72
Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund

The subject of this relief refers to the worship of the Buddha, shown here in the form of a Fire Pillar, a symbol commonly used in aniconic Buddhism. In a sculptural context, pillars of this type were usually placed behind a throne or a base bearing an imprint of the Buddha's feet, and symbolised the body of the Buddha.

This pillar is divided into three sections separated by floral capitals, and the edges of the shaft are decorated with incised flames. Such pillars or their various sections frequently had a finial of flames, in the centre of which was a *triratna* (three jewels) symbol resting on a narrower column, as can be seen in the bottom section of this example. The *triratna* represents the three segments of the Buddhist faith; the Buddha, Buddhist Law (*dharma*) and the monastic order (*saṅgha*).

Each section of the pillar is flanked by figures of worshippers who stand on the coiling tendrils arising from the capitals. Among the worshippers surrounding the flaming *triratna* symbol in the lower register are two holding fly whisks or *caurī*. Unfortunately only their upper bodies have survived. The central section is flanked by pot-bellied dancing *yakṣa*, and the top has two celestial flying figures, their hands folded in the gesture of adoration and reverence (*añjalihasta*). The top of the pillar is missing and these figures are incomplete.

This carving represents the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa rather than the Amarāvatī style; the proportions are somewhat less elongated and the relief is slightly less carefully executed than those of Amarāvatī. Nāgārjunakoṇḍa ('Hill of Nāgārjuna' after the founder of the Mādhyamika school of Mahāyāna Buddhism) was, like Amarāvatī, an important *stūpa* on the banks of the Krishna River in Andhra Pradesh, built under the auspices of the Ikṣvāku dynasty. It was excavated by Longhurst in 1926 and, although the monument itself is no longer extant, numerous reliefs have survived, many of them at the site in the local Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Museum.

SC

Reference
• Rao Ramachandra, 1956

3

3 **The First Sermon of the Buddha**
初轉法輪
Amarāvatī, 2nd century CE
阿瑪拉瓦提，二世紀
Soapstone, H: 39.5 cm, W: 28.5 cm
MIK Collection I. 5935

This relief belongs to the aniconic phase of Buddhist art, when the Buddha was not yet shown in his human form but represented by symbols. Examples of such representations are found mainly in very early monuments.

In the centre of the relief is an empty throne supported at each side by a lion. The flaming pillar above the two cushions on the chair symbolises the Enlightened One. Two *caurī* bearers stand beside the pillar and six other figures worship the apparently empty throne.

The two gazelles at the front of the relief indicate very clearly that this scene represents the First Sermon of the Buddha after his Enlightenment in the Deer Park at Sarnath near Benares.

MY

4 Bust of Buddha 佛陀半身像

India, Andhra Pradesh, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (?),
3rd century CE 印度，安陀羅邦，三世紀
Limestone, H: 33 cm, W: 28.3 cm
James W. and Marilynn Alsdorf Collection

This head, with part of the shoulders still visible, once belonged to a fine statue of the Buddha, probably from the site of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in present day Andhra Pradesh. Dominated by neighbouring Amarāvatī, the site of one of the most important *stūpas* of early Buddhism, this region in the Krishna river valley (see map I) played an enormously important role in the history of Buddhist religion and philosophy. Nāgārjunakoṇḍa was named after the great philosopher Nāgārjuna, who is regarded as a second Buddha and to whom is traced the origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism. As was the case with Gandhāra, this region of southern India served as a springboard for the religion and art to travel abroad, principally to Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia.

A distinctive school of Buddhist art had developed in the Amarāvatī Nāgārjunakoṇḍa region by the 2nd century BCE, distinguished by the locally available greenish-white limestone. By the 2nd century CE, local artists had introduced a Buddha image that is clearly distinguishable from those in Gandhāra and Mathura, not only by the stone used, but also by its iconographic and stylistic characteristics. The Amarāvatī Buddha is generally conceived in the round, although the proportions are idealised and the modelling abstract. The garment is treated more volumetrically than at Mathura and is more stylised than in examples from Gandhāra. The head is oval and the locks in his *uṣṇīṣa* curl to the right. The earlobes are elongated. Both these are signs of his supernatural qualities. The tuft of hair between the eyebrows (*ūrṇā*) is rendered as a circle. The features are softly delineated and the eyes wide open.

PP

Published: Pal, P. 1997: cat. 105, p. 90

4

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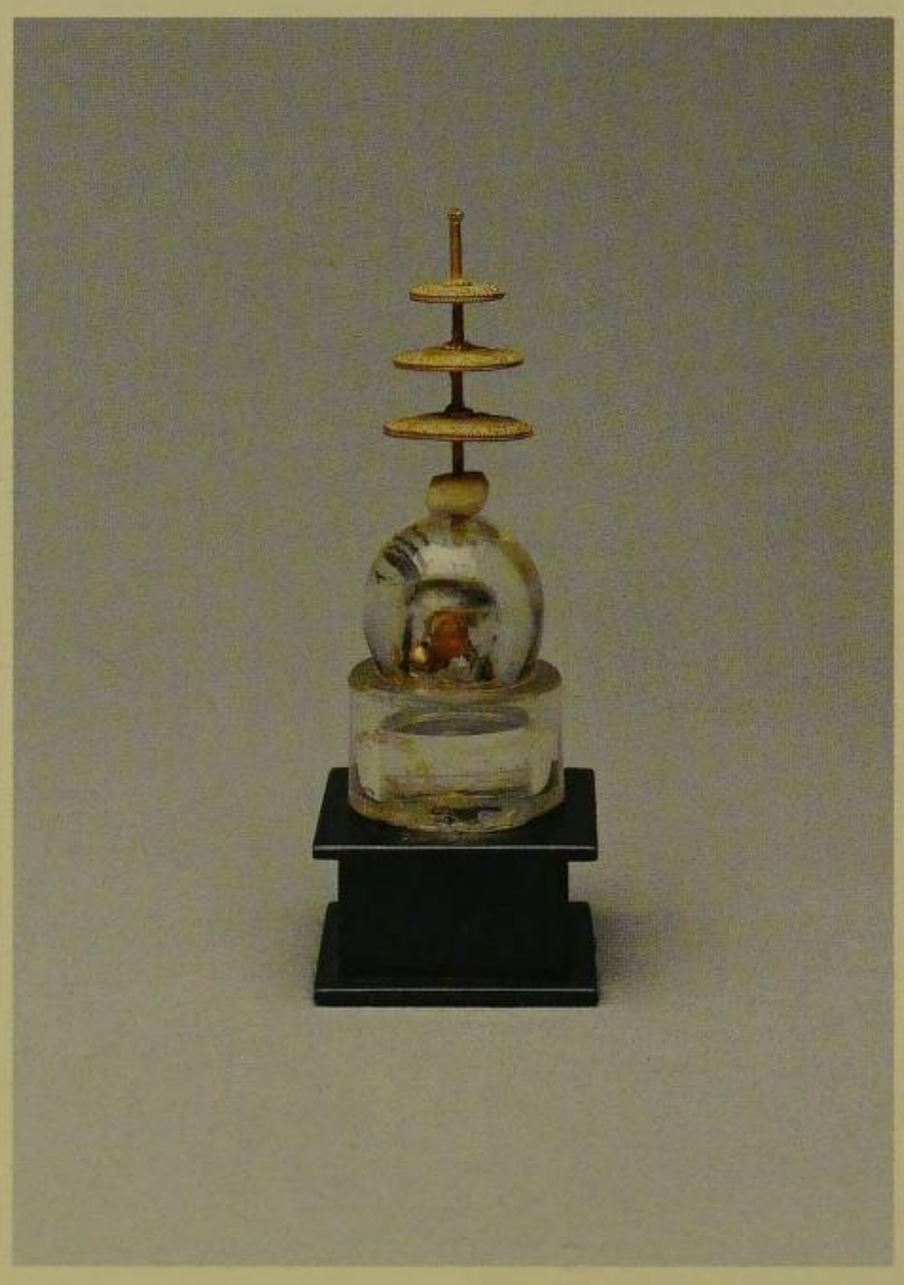
5a

32



5 Stūpa Reliquary 聖物盒
Pakistan (ancient Gandhāra), *c.* 200 CE
巴基斯坦(古代犍陀羅), 約公元二百年
Grey schist, H: 30.5 cm, W: 19.7 cm
James W. and Marilynn Alsdorf Collection

32 Stūpa Reliquary 聖物盒
Sri Lanka, Anurādhapura period, *c.* 200 CE
斯里蘭卡, 阿蒐羅陀補羅時期
約公元二百年
Crystal and gold, H: 13.5 cm, W: 4.8 cm
James W. and Marilynn Alsdorf Collection
(see enlarged illustration p. 192)

The form of these two reliquaries is in the shape of a *stūpa* (literally 'heap'), also known as *dhātugarbha* in Sanskrit or *datūgabba* in Pāli, both meaning 'womb containing essence'. From the latter word is derived *dagoba*, a term frequently used in Sri Lanka; the word pagoda is an inversion of *dagoba*. Used to intern the physical remains of the Buddha, this simple structure remained the most popular design for all reliquaries. Apart from symbolising the final departure (*mahāparinirvāṇa*) of the master, it became by association the symbol *par excellence* of the Buddhist faith. Although the two examples here were made well over a thousand miles apart, both reflect the basic form of the *stūpa*, which consists of a circular base, and a dome-shaped member surmounted by a square chamber and crowned with a multi-tiered umbrella. The pole represents the cosmic pillar that connects heaven and earth.

The earlier example, made in ancient Gandhāra (now comprising parts of Pakistan and Afghanistan), is the more elaborate as it includes a square platform that supports a column at each of the four corners, each bearing a lion as its capital. The four lions very possibly symbolise the lion's roar of Śākyamuni that spread in all four directions. The addition of these columns clearly integrates the more ancient pillar cult with the *stūpa* cult and is reminiscent of the well-known lion pillars of Aśoka's time (3rd century BCE). This is quite possibly a miniature model of the type of monumental *stūpa* that Chinese Buddhist pilgrims saw when they visited the region.

The Sri Lankan example is smaller but more precious being made of gold and crystal. It is possible that it contained the relics of an important monk, and was the benefaction of an affluent person.

PP

Published : Kurita, 1990: fig. 802
cat. no. 5 : Pal, P. 1997: cat. 92, p. 76
cat. no. 32: Pal, P. 1997: cat. 93, p. 85

6 **Head of Emaciated Siddhārtha**
苦行悉達多頭像
Pakistan (ancient Gandhāra),
3rd century CE
巴基斯坦（古代犍陀羅），三世紀
Grey schist, H: 15.6 cm, W: 8.3 cm
James W. and Marilynn Alsdorf Collection

Before settling on meditation as the means to Enlightenment, Siddhārtha practiced various forms of asceticism, including a prolonged fast, which resulted not in Enlightenment but in severe emaciation. Gandhāran artists embraced this theme, creating graphically expressive representations of the haggard seeker – some within a narrative context, others as independent sculptures of imposing proportions. (See Czuma and Morris 1985, p. 201, no. III, for another similar head and extensive bibliographic references.) Elsewhere on the subcontinent, the theme is rarely encountered, though it travelled to East Asia along the Silk Route.

The image invented by the Gandhāran artists is a curious mixture of realism and fantasy. The sunken eyes and hollow cheeks, protruding bones and distended veins reveal precise knowledge of the anatomy of starvation, while, at the same time, the hair is stylised and neatly coiffed as in post-Enlightenment images. The ascetic Siddhārtha is also bearded, and his beard is likewise well groomed. These contrasts enhance the dramatic power of such images.

PP (from *A Collecting Odyssey)*

Published: Pal, P. 1997: cat. 109, p. 95

7 **Buddha on a Lion Throne 獅吼佛陀像**
Gandhāra, Takht-i-Bahi
2nd-3rd centuries CE
犍陀羅，二至三世紀
Schist, H: 52 cm
MIK Collection I. 74

The Gandhāran school of art produced innumerable representations of the Buddha in a range of artistic styles. This carved figure of the Buddha is one of the most skilled. It once belonged to one of the best known monasteries in the Gandhāran region, the religious centre at Takht-i-Bahi. The Enlightened One sits in *dhyānāsana* on a throne covered by a decorated blanket; on each side of the base of the throne is a lion. The Buddha wears a typical monk's robe consisting of an upper and a lower garment draped in numerous folds. Both shoulders are covered. His broken right arm once displayed the *abhayamudrā* and the folds of his robe cover his left hand. A large oval nimbus surrounds the Buddha's calm face. The *ūrṇā* on the forehead, the curled *uṣṇīṣa* and the elongated earlobes are the distinguishing marks or the *mahālakṣaṇa* of Buddha or a *cakravartin*.

This type of icon was usually placed in courtyards which housed not only the main *stūpa* but several other votive *stūpas*.

MY

Published: Asthana, S. *et al.* 1992: p. 83, pl. 36

8 **The First Sermon 鹿野苑初轉法輪**
Gandhāra, 2nd-3rd centuries CE
犍陀羅，二至三世紀
Schist, H: 26.5 cm, W: 27 cm
MIK Collection I. 2984

This image suggests the First Sermon of the Buddha Śākyamuni in the Deer Park at Sarnath, near Benares, because of the presence of the Wheel of Law and the two deer.

The Buddha is seated on a pedestal under a *bodhi* tree and both his shoulders are covered by his garment; the right hand, now broken, would have been held in *abhayamudrā*, and his left arm is partially draped by his garment. To the Buddha's left are five figures, most probably the five ascetics with whom he searched in the very beginning for Enlightenment, and who were later among his first converts. Visible to the right is Vajrapāṇi, the Buddha's permanent attendant, recognisable by his 'weapon', the *vajra*, which he holds in his right hand.

MY

8

9

9 Bust of the Buddha 佛陀半身像
Gandhāra, Takht-i-Bahi, 3rd century CE
犍陀羅，三世紀
Schist, H: 35.5 cm, W: 24 cm
MIK Collection I. 566

This strong-looking bust of a Buddha, which is broken off at the waist, once belonged to a standing sculpture, demonstrated by the lines of the heavy folds of the drapery. His outer robe covers both shoulders and the right hand would have been raised in *abhayamudrā*. The eyes in the youthful face of the Enlightened One are almost closed and he appears to be absorbed in meditation. His undulating hair is brought up high into the *uṣṇīṣa*. The halo behind him is completely broken off. Although one of the other *mahālakṣaṇa* (distinguishing marks), the *ūrṇā*, is visible between the eyebrows, the elongated earlobes are unfortunately broken.

MY

10 Buddha and Vajrapāṇi 佛陀與金剛手像
Gandhāra, 1st century CE
犍陀羅，一世紀
Schist, H: 39 cm
MIK Collection I. 58

Reliefs or wall paintings depicting the Buddha together with his constant attendant Vajrapāṇi appear relatively often in Buddhist art from Afghanistan and Pakistan in the west, to Central Asia and China in the east. The earliest representations are to be found in Gandhāra, but even in medieval wall paintings Vajrapāṇi is very often at the side of the Buddha.

The Buddha, larger than his accolyte Vajrapāṇi, is turned to the right in a somehow moving gesture. He has a very large *uṣṇīṣa* tied with a cord. A small *ūrṇā* is visible on his forehead. The Buddha's eyes are wide open, giving him a more secular than a spiritual expression; the pupil and iris are incised. His prominent moustache arches above protruding lips. The head of the Buddha is surrounded by a large halo with an incised circle around the border. His body is covered by pleated monk's vestments consisting of an upper and a lower garment.

Vajrapāṇi stands behind the Buddha with the *caurī* (fly whisk) held in his right hand. In his left hand Vajrapāṇi holds his powerful 'weapon', the *vajra*, often translated as thunderbolt. Vajrapāṇi's physiognomy is muscular, unlike his representations in later post-Gandhāran Indian art. He has large eyes in an attentive face, a full beard, and thick, curly hair falling to his shoulders. The garment covering the left half of his body ends just above the knee. The unornamented background intensifies the plasticity of this relief.

Because of the fragmentary state of the relief, the scene represented here cannot be positively identified.

MY

11 Standing Buddha 佛陀立像

Gandhāra, 4th-5th centuries CE
犍陀羅，四至五世紀
Stucco, H: 41 cm, W: 14.5 cm
MIK Collection I. 225

Fully preserved figures made of stucco are very rare. This graceful standing Buddha in *tribhaṅga* (triple flexion) is modelled in three-quarter profile. Both shoulders and the Buddha's arms are covered by his garment, and his right hand rests on his chest. The head of the figure is turned to the right and his curly hair is tied into an *uṣṇīṣa*. There is an *ūrṇā* on the forehead and the ears are elongated.

This statue was once completely painted and traces of red and black pigment can still be seen all over the surface.

MY

12 Buddha's Sermon 佛陀說法造像

Gandhāra, 2nd-3rd centuries CE
犍陀羅，二至三世紀
Schist, H: 41 cm, W: 47 cm
MIK Collection I. 65

After the Buddha had gained Enlightenment, the gods Śakra and Brahmā convinced him to preach his *dharma* in order to show humanity the way to overcome the cycle of rebirths. For many decades Buddha Śākyamuni wandered through northern India as a religious preacher. He converted many ascetics from a variety of faiths and sometimes even performed miracles.

This relief of Buddha Śākyamuni seated on a blanket-covered stool shows him engaged in his most important task, spreading the *dharma*. He is surrounded by several monks and ascetics who listen attentively to his sermon. The gods Brahmā and Śakra, standing to his left and right respectively, show their deepest adoration.

Literary sources describe numerous sermons of the Buddha. However, it is very difficult to identify the various different pictorial representations, since many follow a stereotyped format and are very similar to each other.

MY

References
• Härtel, H. and Lobo, W. 1986: pp 72, 73, pl. 35
• Asthana, S. *et al.* 1992

12

13

13 Two Legends from the Buddha's Youth
佛傳故事

Gandhāra, 2nd century CE
犍陀羅，二世紀
Schist, H: 22.3 cm, W: 51 cm
MIK Collection I. 85

From the sequence of the two scenes, it is clear that the panel is intended to be read from right to left. This relief was originally part of a *stūpa* which Buddhist believers would circumambulate in a clockwise direction.

The scene on the right depicts the first bath of the Bodhisattva, the future Buddha Śākyamuni, an event that according to legend took place immediately after his birth. At the moment the Bodhisattva was born, the earth cracked open and a huge lotus blossom appeared. The two Nāga Kings, Nanda and Upananda, hastened with perfumed hot and cold water to cleanse the new-born child.

In this relief the naked Bodhisattva stands on a tripodal stool supported by two female divinities. One of the male figures behind them pours water over the child, although, surprisingly, not one of them is depicted as a *nāga*. The gods Brahmā on the left and Śakra on the right are worshipping the Bodhisattva.

According to the legend, Queen Māyā and the Bodhisattva returned home from the Lumbinī Grove to their palace in Kapilavastu. The elephant is shown carrying the sedan chair with Māyā and Siddhārtha in it while two figures are advancing towards them.

MY

Published: Asthana, S. *et al.* 1992: p. 70, pl. 22

14

14 Three Scenes from the Life of the Buddha
佛傳故事
Gandhāra, 3rd century CE
犍陀羅，三世紀
Schist, H: 23.5 cm, W: 56 cm
MIK Collection I. 72

This very impressive and vivacious relief from a *stūpa* is to be read in *pradakṣiṇā* manner from right to left, although the scene in the centre appears to be the most important. The end of one scene and the beginning of the next are indicated by the direction in which the figures face.

The story begins on the right where the Buddha is shown walking, followed by two monks and an aged man. He is greeted by a kneeling man and a standing woman with princely head ornaments. On the balcony above the scene are two female worshippers.

In the central scene the Buddha is seated under a baldachin-like arch, his hands in *dharmacakramudrā*. Two noblemen to the Buddha's right and left listen to his sermon. Above them stand two richly ornamented male figures, the one on the right in a worshipful attitude, the one on the left apparently about to shower an offering of a lotus blossom onto the preaching Buddha.

The final scene on the left shows the Buddha leaving with a drummer preceding him. Behind him stands Vajrapāṇi, together with a monk and another figure who will accompany him on his way. We do not know the name of the town in which this sermon takes place, but presumably it is Rājagṛiha, and the two noblemen represented could be King Bimbiśāra and his son Ajātaśatru.

MY

15 The Submission of Nāga Apalāla
征服蛇魔道

Gandhāra, 2nd-3rd centuries CE
犍陀羅，二至三世紀
Schist, H: 24.5 cm, W: 73 cm
MIK Collection I. 5893

The legend of the submission of Nāga Apalāla places the event close to the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha. It is mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa* (W. Geiger, trans. 1980, XXX, 85) as well as by Xuanzang (*Xi Yuji* 1976, pp 122, 123, 126fn, 132) among the stories he reported from Udyāna.

Nāga Apalāla, who lived at the source of a river, was born as a man during the time of Buddha Kāśyapa. He was able to withstand the power of the evil dragon and restrain him from inflicting violent rain storms on the country. The people were very grateful and promised to give him a peck of grain every year as tribute. After some years, however, they forgot their promise, and Nāga Apalāla transformed himself into a monstrous dragon which brought rains and storms and destroyed all their crops.

Buddha Śākyamuni felt great pity for the people of this country and decided to convert the violent dragon. He struck the mountain with Vajrapāṇi's 'weapon', the *vajra* or thunderbolt, forcing the dragon to appear. On hearing the Buddha's teaching of the *dharma*, the heart of the furious Nāga at once became pure and his faith was awakened.

This scene is depicted on the left of the relief. The Buddha, taller than the other figures surrounding him, stands at the centre in front of the Nāga King and his Nāgini, his right hand raised in *abhayamudrā*, the left holding his robe. Vajrapāṇi, who stands next to the Buddha, has his back turned towards three monks standing behind him. Vajrapāṇi is shown with the *vajra* held high in his hand as if about to strike between the rocks.

In the right-hand section of the relief the Buddha stands in an almost identical posture. His head is surrounded by a large nimbus with lozenge patterns on the outer edge. He holds his right hand in *abhayamudrā* above a kneeling worshipper. Behind him stands the demon-like Vajrapāṇi, depicted with large ears and curly hair; in his left hand he holds an enormous *vajra* and the middle and index fingers of his right hand are held in a curious upright position. Two monks stand behind him, and there is a princely worshipper to his left. Another figure to the rear puts his right hand into a bowl held by a man with curly hair to his right. Two females are also visible behind the Buddha.

A similar relief in the collection of the British Museum has been interpreted by Zwalf as "perhaps the story of Āṭavika" (Zwalf 1996, vol. 1, p. 191, vol. 2, pl. 211).

15 MY

16 Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha
佛陀涅槃造像

Gandhāra, 3rd century CE
犍陀羅，三世紀
Schist, H: 27.3 cm, W: 32.5 cm
MIK Collection I. 80

Several events in the life of the Buddha Sākyamuni are depicted in Gandhāran art, and representations of his birth, youth, renunciation, Enlightenment and passing away were particularly popular themes with Gandhāran sculptors.

This relief shows the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha in a rather unusual manner. The teacher, on his death bed, is depicted in the centre of the relief. His head and body are completely swathed in cloth and his face is not visible. The Buddha supports his head on his right arm which rests on a cushion. He is surrounded by disciples and other figures, who are depicted in a state of mourning.

Literary sources for the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha in Gandhāra are the Pali and Sanskrit versions of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*. These texts describe the main events shortly before and immediately after the death of the Buddha. When the Buddha became ill in the Śāla Forest, he asked Ānanda to prepare a bed for him in such a manner that he could rest with his head facing to the north. The Enlightened One lay on his right side "like a lion", one foot covering the other, but he remained intensely conscious of the events taking place around him. Two other monks, Aniruddha and Subhadra, were also present at his side. Only Mahākāśyapa was absent since he was travelling from Pāvā to Kuśinagara in the company of several other monks. It is said that on the way he met an ascetic, a member of the Ājīvika sect, who showed him a *mandāraka* blossom that he had picked up at the site of the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*. Mahākāśyapa thereupon hastened to Kuśinagara where he approached the funeral pyre and, opening the lid of the coffin, paid his last respects to the Buddha.

In this relief Aniruddha, with a shaven head and draped in a typical monk's vestment, stands at the head of the Buddha. His right hand is extended towards Ānanda who lies on the ground struck by inconsolable grief. Subhadra stands beside Ānanda, his back turned towards the viewer. An Ājīvika monk, identifiable by his stick and by the robe that covers his head, stands at the Buddha's feet in conversation with another monk, in all probability Mahākāśyapa. The two other figures wear turbans and may represent the Malla princes who had been invited by Ānanda to attend the ceremonies. The monk with the *caurī* probably represents Vajrapāṇi, who is shown as the constant companion of the Buddha in Gandhāran art.

MY

Reference
• Ebert, J. 1985

16

17 **Seated Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi**
蓮花手菩薩坐像
Gandhāra, 1st century CE
犍陀羅，一世紀
Schist, H: 53.5 cm, W: 33.5 cm
MIK Collection I. 73

The iconography of this image is somewhat confusing and at first glance appears to represent an amalgamation of a Buddha and a Bodhisattva. The figure has an *uṣṇīṣa* and a moustache, and wears the monk's robes normally adopted in images of the Buddha. However, he also has the prominent ear ornaments, necklaces and bangles associated with depictions of Bodhisattvas. His hands are not in *dhyānamudrā*, as is sometimes maintained, but hold a closed flower.

It is clear that this image does not represent a Buddha, since Buddhas in *dhyāna-mudrā* have both shoulders covered by their garments, and they are never ornamented.

It would thus appear that this statue is a very unusual representation of the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi.

MY

Published: Klimburg-Salter, D. E. ed. 1995: p. 267, pl. 131 (see also p. 160)

18 Head of a Bodhisattva 菩薩頭像

Gandhāra, 2nd century CE
犍陀羅，二世紀
Schist, H: 30.1 cm, W: 22.6 cm
MIK Collection I. 61

This beautifully decorated head is presumably that of a Bodhisattva rather than a nobleman – the delicate facial figures, a small, well-shaped nose, large almond-shaped eyes and moustache, as well as the large oval nimbus, point to his divine status. The hair is covered by a turban of ribbons to which various types of ornaments and blossoms are attached; the top of the turban rises to a fan-like crest in the centre.

The life-sized carved statue of the Bodhisattva to which this head once belonged apparently stood in a niche in a *stūpa* court.

MY

References
- Tissot, F. 1976: p. 88, fig. 11
- Foucher, A. 1905-18: fig. 397
- Asthana, S. *et al.* 1992: p. 85, pl. 38
- Klimburg-Salter, D. E. ed. 1995: pp 269-270, pl. 139

(see also p. 166)

18

19

19 Head of a Deity 神像
Gandhāra, 4th-5th centuries CE
犍陀羅，四至五世紀
Stucco, painted, H: 13.5 cm
MIK Collection I. 228

This small, expressive head belongs to one of the numerous nameless deities of early Buddhist art. The figure was originally turned to the right. A fillet encircling the black curly hair has a large flower at the centre and one to each side. Above the fillet the hair is tied into a large chignon. The eyes are rounded with distinct upper lids and above them sharp edges form the eyebrows. The deity has a small nose, and the curved lips and the expression of the eyes give the whole face a rather dreamy appearance. Only the drop-like ornament in the right ear is now preserved.

Traces of black and red pigment remain at the hairline and neckline, and on the eyes, fillet, hair, lips and ear.

MY

20a

20 A Male Head 男頭像
Gandhāra, 4th-5th centuries CE
犍陀羅，四至五世紀
Stucco, painted, H: 26 cm
MIK Collection I. 4871

This skilfully modelled head of a Bodhisattva is extremely well preserved. The surface of the face is unusually smooth, and the red and blue pigments still remain. The outlines of the eyes, *ūrṇā*, nose, lips and the turban are accentuated by red lines, while blue is reserved only for the line between the hair and the turban.

Regrettably it is not known to which monastery in the Gandhāran region this beautiful figure originally belonged.

MY

Reference
• Klimburg-Salter, D. E. ed. 1995: p. 270, pl. 140 (see also p. 167)

21 Buddha Śākyamuni with Attendants
釋迦牟尼佛與侍從

India, Uttar Pradesh, Mathura region (?)
c. 100 CE
印度，北方邦，秣菟羅 (?)；約公元一百年
Spotted sandstone, H: 35.9 cm, W: 26.4 cm
James W. and Marilynn Alsdorf Collection

Carved on both sides, this stele is a well-preserved example of a classic Buddhist triad that was popular in the Mathura region during the Kuśāṇa period. Although inscribed stelae of this type identify the central figure as a Bodhisattva, he is indeed a Buddha, specifically Śākyamuni. His identity is clear from the *bodhi* tree above, represented more crisply on the reverse (see pl. 21a), under which Śākyamuni attained Enlightenment (*bodhi*). Only this one motif refers to that historical event. All others on the stele, such as the lion-throne, the halo, the gesture of the right hand, the attendant Bodhisattvas, and the celestials above, proclaim the transcendental and divine nature of the Buddha.

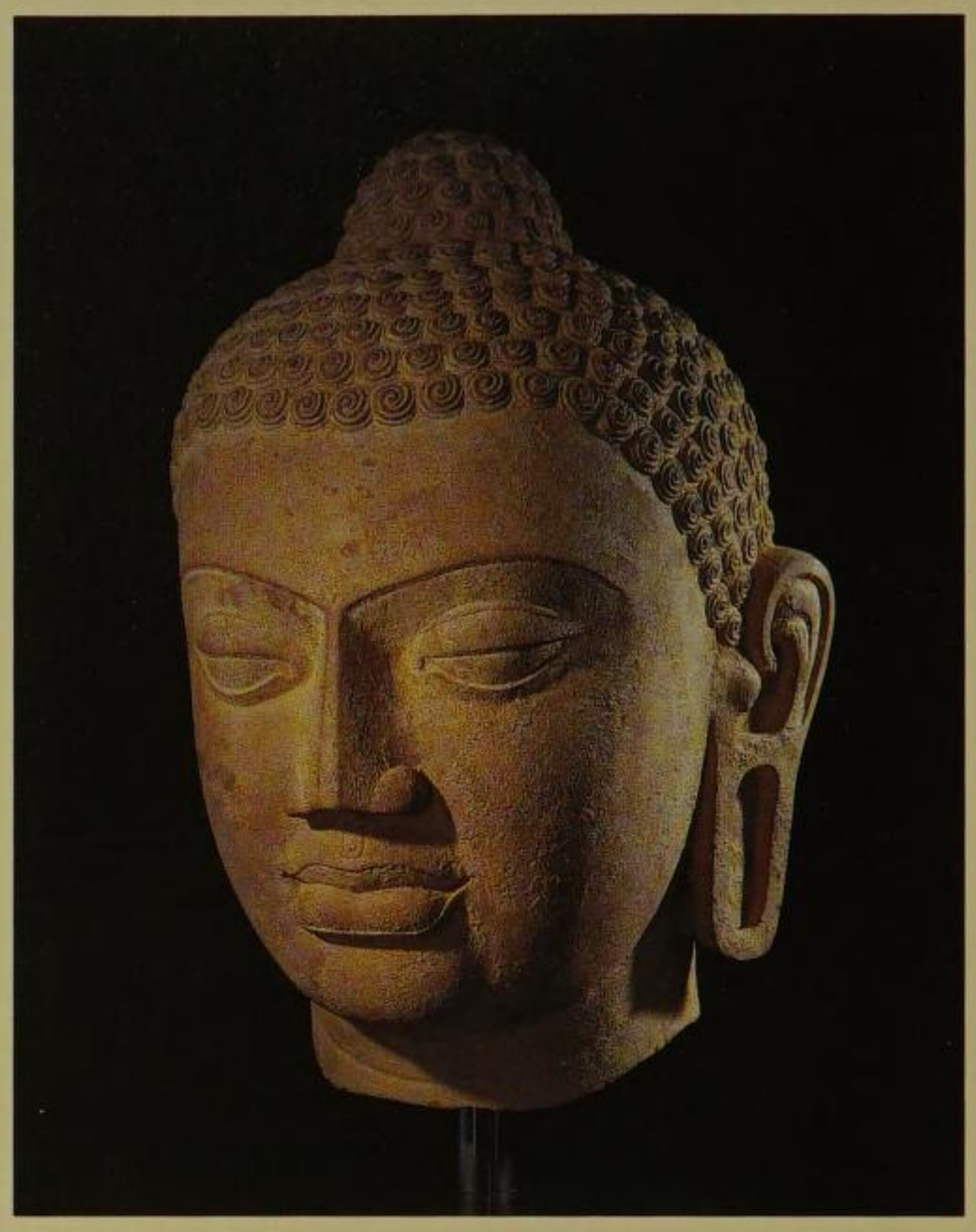
The Buddha is a youthful figure modelled after a *yogi*. His posture and topknot are appropriate for a meditating ascetic, but the gesture of his right hand, the lion-throne, and the attendants bearing fly whisks demonstrate borrowing from royal imagery. Clearly, these early images of the Buddha from Mathura were not improvised creations, but reflect careful orchestration of form, composition, and iconography to emphasise complex symbolism and diverse concepts.

PP (from *A Collecting Odyssey)*

Published: Pal, P. 1986: p. 181; Pal, P. ed. 1984: cat. 75;
Pal, P. 1988b: pp 4-5, figs 3-4
Pal, P. 1997: cat. 100, pp 86-87

21a

22a



22 Head of Buddha 佛陀頭像

Mathura, *c.* 5th-6th centuries CE
秣菟羅，約五至六世紀
Mottled pink sandstone,
H: 58.5 cm
Namkha Dorjee Collection

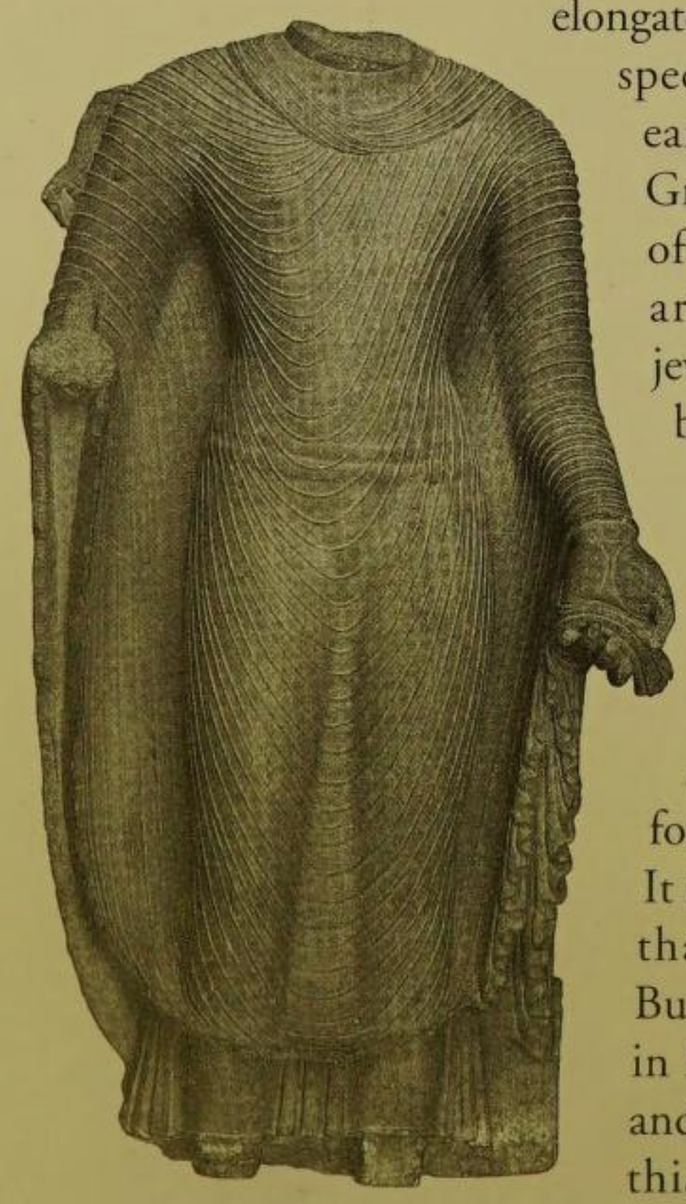
This head of Buddha is an excellent example from India of the Gupta period (5th-6th centuries) belonging to the Mathura school. Several complete Buddha images exist in this style and one of them is dated to the year 435 CE (Sharma 1984, figs 142-43). While some images have exaggeratedly raised eyebrows and very round, fleshy faces, this particular example has a certain elegant restraint. Nonetheless, it has all the stylistic characteristics of the Mathurā school, with its pencil sharp swallow-tail eyebrows, a broad nose with the nose bridge prominently delineated and rather broad nostrils. This image is made of fine grained sandstone that has an orange glow, adding to the serenity and solemnity of the face.

Several such Mathura images are known and have been discussed by scholars. Typical of the best examples of the Mathura school is a full face with thick lips; the lower lip, fleshy and sensuous, is sculpted with care to suggest the faint hint of a smile. The eyes are half closed with the gaze focused on the tip of the nose in a pose suggesting extreme Yogic concentration. The *uṣṇīṣa* is portrayed in tight, snail-like curls in a clockwise direction. The ears are treated naturally except for the lobes which, in accordance with canonical injunctions, are elongated. There has been considerable speculation as to why distended earlobes should be a sign of the Great Being (*mahāpuruṣa*). It has often been suggested that since aristocratic men wore heavy jewelled earrings, distended lobes became a mark of the nobleman and this was automatically transferred to the noble Buddha. Mathura Buddhas are more often than not shown without an *ūrṇā* or the mark in the centre of the forehead.

It is interesting to see the changes that occurred in the style of Buddha images at the workshops in Mathura between the Kuśāṇa and Gupta periods by comparing this head with two others: the Kuśāṇa Mathura Buddha of the 2nd century CE (see cat. no. 21), and the Mathura Buddha from Ahichhattra of the same century in the National Museum, New Delhi. Both iconographically and stylistically the Gupta Mathura head shows a major stage of evolution. In the Gupta period the Buddha iconography had become standardised. The treatment of the head and hair shows a marked change in iconography from the Kuśāṇa period. However, some of the heaviness of form noted in cat. no. 21 is also present in the example under discussion. This point would be more obvious if this Buddha head were not in a fragmentary state but attached to what would be a typical Mathura torso such as that of the famous torso from Jamalpur in the Mathura Archaelogical Museum (see inset pl. 22b).

Gupta Buddhas from the Mathura and Sarnath schools (cat. no. 23) form major landmarks in the art and iconography of Indian Buddhist sculpture and painting. Because the Gupta artists and craftspersons not only standardised the iconography of Buddhist images, but also produced works of true elegance and sophistication, and because Gupta models inspired Buddhist works of art all over Asia, art historians have been prompted to label this the 'Classical' period of Indian art.

RG



22b Torso of Mathura Buddha from Jamalpur

References

- Pal, P. 1986 (vol. I, pl. S119) discusses a very similar head in the Alice and Heeramanek Collection
- Sharma, R. C. 1984

23 Torso of a Standing Buddha 佛陀軀像

Sarnath school, 5th-6th centuries CE
鹿野苑，五至六世紀
Mottled pink sandstone,
H: (including base) 165 cm, W: 61 cm
Thomas J. Pritzker Collection

This Buddha is in a fragmentary condition but, since several complete Buddhas of the Sarnath school from the Gupta period are known, one can reasonably assume that had this Buddha been complete he would have stood in a pose betraying a slight flexion of the body with the weight of his body leaning towards his left. As both feet are missing, an impression is created that the figure is more frontal and straight than he would have been. Both the arms are missing. He would have held his right hand in the *abhayamudrā* and his left hand would have held the ends of his monastic garment, as in the example from the Musée Guimet (Gies 1995, fig.1).

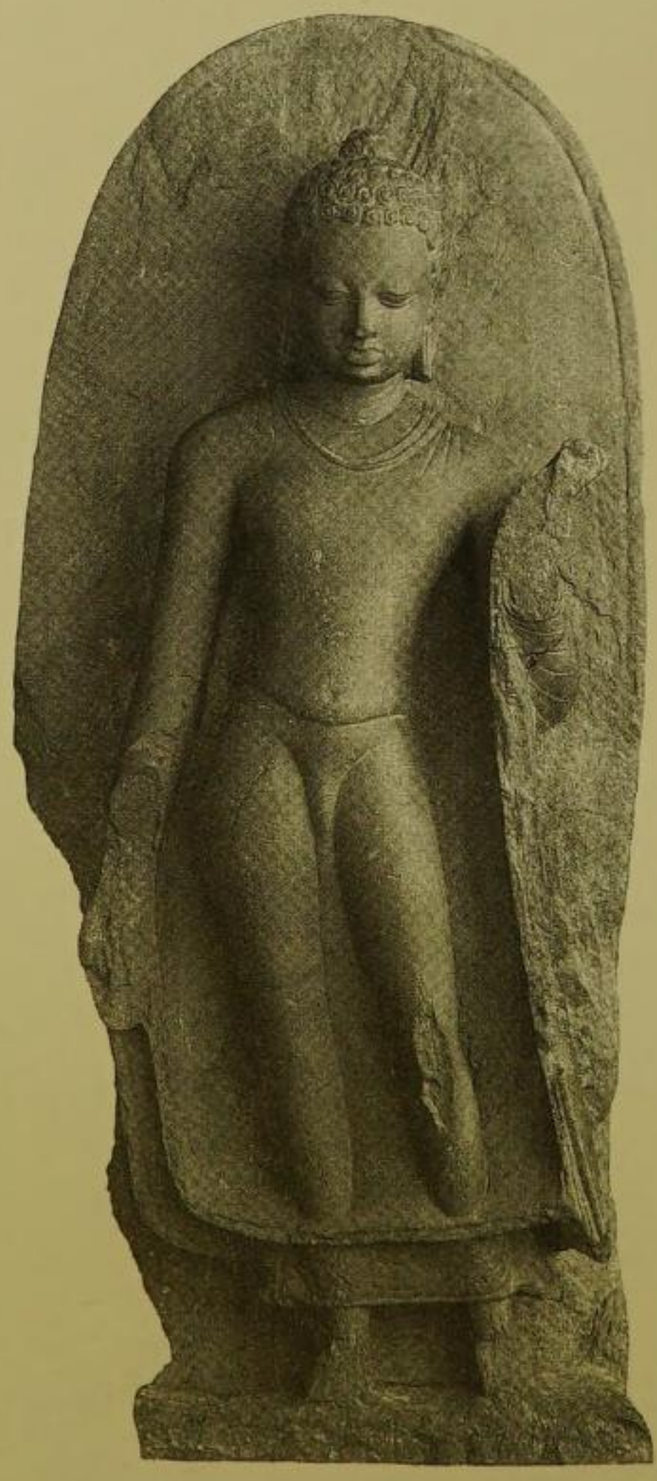
The transparent quality of the drapery is a particular characteristic of the Sarnath school and is in sharp contrast to the Mathura idiom (see inset pl. 22b). Both shoulders of this Buddha image are covered and one can see traces of the three folds in his neck. The missing face of this Buddha would have been more slender and angular than the Mathura head discussed in the previous entry.

This figure is elegant in proportion and, unlike the example from the Indian Museum, Calcutta (see inset pl. 23a), is not as pronouncedly flexed or as softly feminine. However, the fact that the figure is softer, slimmer or displays more *déhanchement* is not necessarily indicative of a later dating; there are early 6th century figures with the same elegant characterisics as those shown in the inset below.

In the Sarnath school the body of the Buddha is well proportioned with wide shoulders, a broad chest and large, smooth thighs. The Buddha's male member is in a sheath. While the Sarnath sculptor contributed to the pleasing aesthetics of the image, he by and large conformed iconographically to the canonical rules.

Several dated Buddhas of this type are known, two of them dated 474 and 477 CE. During the 1904-05 excavations, more than four hundred and fifty-six art objects in the form of sculptures, bas reliefs and forty-one inscriptions were found in Sarnath to the southwest of the principal shrine. Ateliers belonging to this school were thus clearly prolific in their artistic production. The Sarnath Gupta school profoundly influenced Buddhist art styles throughout Asia, and hence fully deserves the commonly used apellation of 'Classical', connoting elegance and taste.

RG



23a Standing Buddha from Sarnath Museum, Calcutta

Reference

• Gies, J. 1995

24 Stele with Buddhas and Tārā
佛陀度母造像碑

India, Bihar, 10th century CE
印度，畢哈爾，十世紀
Black chlorite, H: 76.2 cm, W: 44.5 cm
James W. and Marilynn Alsdorf Collection

This exceptionally well preserved and highly polished stele depicts the eight principal events from the life of Buddha Śākyamuni, generally characterised as the Eight Great Miracles. Each Buddha figure encapsulates one of the miracles. Such a succinct combination of the iconic and the narrative was characteristic of Pāla art.

The central Buddha is distinguished from the others not only by his larger size but also by the assertive and rigidly symmetrical striations representing the folds of the garment. His hands, supported by two lotuses, display the gesture of reassurance on the right and hold part of the robe on the left. The smaller figures surround this central cosmic-pillar-like Buddha, as in a *maṇḍala*.

As is customary in such stelae, the recumbent Buddha flanked by mourners, at top center, represents the Buddha's death, or entry into *nirvāṇa*. Clockwise from there are depicted the synoptic configurations of his miraculous multiplication of his preaching self at Śrāvastī, the monkey offering him honey, the taming of the mad elephant, the descent from the thirty-third heaven after preaching to his mother, the Enlightenment, and the First Sermon (see *A Collecting Odyssey* no. 135). Śākyamuni's birth is shown in a small vignette on the right of the lotus base, where his mother stands holding the *śāla* tree. An unusual feature is the image of the goddess Tārā, added on the other side of the lotus base to balance the composition. Indeed, concern for symmetry rather than chronological sequence seems to have influenced the placement of the figures.

It has been suggested that the central figure represents the Udayana type of Buddha images (see Huntington and Huntington 1990, 139, no. 14), principally because of the symmetrical treatment of the garment. Originating in the Swat Valley of Pakistan, the Udayana image became very popular in China. On the other hand, bronze Buddhas made at the contemporary southern site of Nagapattinam in Tamil Nadu show similar handling of the drapery. Both types were popular, and either could have served as a prototype for the present image.

PP (from *A Collecting Odyssey)*

Published: Pal, P. ed. 1984: cat. 5
Huntington, S. and Huntington, J. C. 1990: p. 139, cat. 14
Pal, P. 1997: cat. 134, p. 110

25 **The Buddha Under a Tree**
佛陀樹下修道像
Bihar, Nālandā, 9th century CE
畢哈爾，九世紀
Phyllite, H: 41 cm, W: 26 cm
MIK Collection I. 575

This image of the Buddha is very well preserved. He sits under a tree on an elaborately carved lotus throne between two columns with his hands in *bhūmisparśamudrā*. Beside each column a frightening leogryph stands upright on its hind legs. On either side of the flaming nimbus of the central image is one small Buddha seated on a lotus. The hands of these Buddhas are in *dharmacakramudrā* and *dhyānamudrā*.

A lion is depicted on each side of the throne beneath the lotus and a devotee kneels in adoration near the feet of the Buddha.

An inscription on the pedestal gives a donor's name and the information that this image was the gift of Damuka.

MY

Reference
• Bautze-Picron, C. (forthcoming catalogue)

26 Buddha Displaying Bhūmisparśamudrā
降魔印佛陀像

Bihar, Nālandā, 10th-11th centuries CE
畢哈爾，十至十一世紀
Grey phyllite, H: 44.5 cm, W: 32 cm
MIK Collection I. 690

The Buddha sits on a lotus pedestal, his right hand touching the earth. His robe falls away from his left shoulder in small folds; his undergarment is transparent and covers only the left shoulder.

The Buddha's curly hair is tied into an *uṣṇīṣa* and between his eyebrows is a large *ūrṇā*. He is smiling slightly and has a meditative expression.

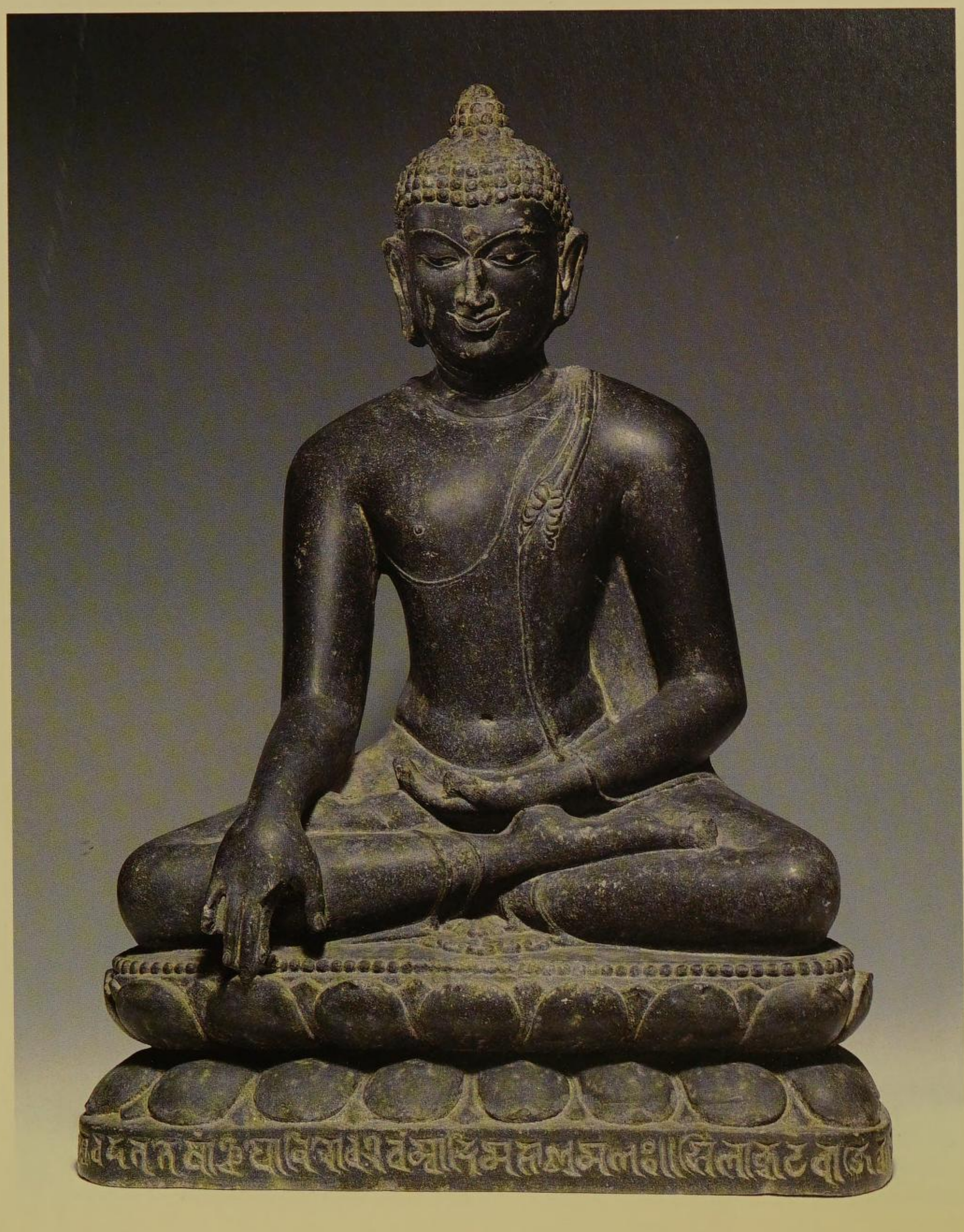
This is a rare example of a sculpture in the round, and it is possible that it once stood in the centre of a temple while most other sculptures stood in niches or in front of slabs.

The inscription on the base of the pedestal quotes a Buddhist creed in corrupt Sanskrit, followed by the donor's name: Thus [the image is the gift] of the stonemason Vajeka (Bhattacharya 1986, pp 29-31, pl. 1-2).

MY

Reference

• Bautze-Picron, C. (forthcoming catalogue)



27 Votive Stūpa with Four Images of the Buddha 還願佛塔

Bihar, Bodh Gaya (?), 9th century CE
畢哈爾，佛陀伽耶 (?), 九世紀
Phyllite, H: 96.8 cm, W: 61 cm
MIK Collection I. 584

This votive *stūpa* consists of two parts that originally may not have belonged together. The base is relatively high and is composed of four steps with a Buddha image seated in a niche between two pilasters. The Buddha displays the *bhūmisparśamudrā*. The upper part, the drum, has four Buddhas, one on each of its four sides, also seated in niches between two round pilasters. The Buddha on the front of the drum sits in *bhūmisparśamudrā*, the next in a clockwise direction in *dharmacakramudrā*, the third, with an almsbowl, in *dhyānamudrā*, and the fourth again in *dharmacakramudrā*. The two elements fundamental to Buddhism, namely Enlightenment and Teaching, are thus depicted on this *stūpa*.

The Buddha depicted on the base is stylistically different from the four images on the drum. His hair and *uṣṇīṣa* are in parallel rows of curls with a marked separation of the hair from the *uṣṇīṣa*. The *uṣṇīṣa* on the Buddha images on the drum do not show this separation and look more like organic cranial bumps. Only the Buddha on the front in *bhūmisparśamudrā* has his left shoulder covered, while the garments on the other three figures cover both shoulders.

MY

Reference
• Bautze-Picron, C. (forthcoming catalogue)

27a

28 Bodhisattva Maitreya 彌勒菩薩像
India, Bengal, Pāla period, 12th century CE
印度，孟加拉，帕拉朝，十二世紀
Silver inlaid with semi-precious stones, copper and bronze; gilt bronze lotus base, H: 32.4 cm
Cleveland Museum of Art Collection
The Severance and Greta Millikin Purchase Fund 1982.48

This image represents the future Buddha, Maitreya, as is indicated by the minute *stūpa* in the crown and by the flask (*kamaṇḍalu*) at the figure's left shoulder which is supported by a lotus. Maitreya wears the usual Bodhisattva garments and is richly ornamented.

The sculpture is cast in silver, which is relatively uncommon, especially in combination with the rich inlays of copper, brass and gold used in the jewellery. The inlay of lapis lazuli is also not usually found in the decoration of eastern Indian bronzes. There are traces of gilding on the face and neck and the remains of dark blue paint in the hair. These indicate that the bronze was once used in worship in Tibet, where gilding and painting of images was a common practice. The gilded lotus base may also be a later Tibetan addition. The image was probably originally set as an altar piece, as suggested by the exposed bottom edge of the lotus base which would have been inserted into the pedestal of an altar.

This figure of Maitreya demonstrates a typical Pāla style, with its rather rigid, straight legs that contrast with the subtly swaying torso. The semi-smiling face successfully conveys spirituality. A great deal of attention has been focused on the rich ornaments, so characteristic of the later Pāla style, which give the impression that the image was made by a goldsmith rather than a sculptor. The metallic crispness of the jewellery provides a pleasing contrast to the soft modelling of the flesh.

This type of highly ornate Pāla style was greatly admired in the Himalayas and inspired Tibetan and Nepalese art. Such images were frequently transported to these areas for worship and eventually served as prototypes for the local styles.

SC

29 Seated Buddha with Inscription
轉法輪印坐佛梵文造像碑

India, Pāla period, 9th-10th centuries CE
印度，帕拉朝，九至十世紀
Stone, H: 33 cm, W: 23 cm
Collection of the University Museum and Art Gallery, The University of Hong Kong
Gift of the Government of India

Buddha is shown seated on a double lotus seat placed on a lion throne. On the base of the throne are two deer with a wheel between them. This marks it as the scene of the First Sermon in the Deer Park at Sarnath. Furthermore, the Buddha is portrayed in the *dharmacakrapravartanamudrā*, which also confirms that this is the scene of the First Sermon.

During the Pāla period (8th-12th centuries CE), sculptors in eastern India were prolific users of stone, usually a blackish dense-grained stone called schist and phyllite. The stone used for this image is lighter in colour and coarser than the usual phyllite used in Pāla images. Like the majority of stone sculptures of the Pāla period, this image is in the form of a stone tablet and is carved in high relief. There are, however, exceptions and the Pāla Buddha (cat. no. 26) is carved fully in the round. The back of the image under discussion is not carved since it would originally have been positioned in a niche. The top of the stele in this image is rounded, which according to the Huntingtons is a characteristic feature of early Pāla art until the 10th century (Huntington and Huntington 1990, p. 92), when a more pointed form was adopted. In this image of the seated Buddha the halo begins only at the shoulders and there is no mandorla. The pedestal is marked by projections and recessions, as in the base of a temple.

Vast numbers of stone sculptures belonging to the pre-Pāla and Pāla periods have come down to us and, to date, we know of seventy-eight dated images (Huntington and Huntington 1990, p. 119, fn 89). These dated images provide stylistic signposts. Although Pāla images owe much to the Gupta idiom, by about the 9th century they had developed a distinct style of their own. In comparison to many other Pala images, this depiction of the seated Buddha is rather simple with no attendant figures and no flying figures flanking the halo. The Buddha sits in solitary majesty. It is the simplicity of the image that confirms that it belongs to the earlier phase of Pala art.

The monastic garments worn by Pāla Buddhas can be classified into two major modes: with both shoulders covered as in the example under discussion and the 10th century Buddha with Tārā (cat. no. 24); or with only the left shoulder covered and leaving the right bare. Stylistically, the robes may display visible folds or be smooth and transparent as in Gupta images of the Sarnath school (cat. no. 23). This Buddha has both shoulders covered and the folds run in concentric semi-circles along the torso and fall diagonally over the arms. In contradistinction, the seated Buddha of the Pāla school in the earth-touching pose (cat. no. 25) has his right shoulder bare.

This Buddha image has many features in common with the Buddha illustrated by the Huntingtons (Huntington and Huntington 1990, pl. 19). The theatrical buntings flying from both sides of the back of the throne are common to both figures, and in both the flames surrounding the halo are divided into separate decorative tongues. Completely surrounding the halo there is an inscription in proto-Bengali script which contains the usual invocatory formula and gives the name of the donor, but this is unfortunately illegible.

Iconographically this image exhibits all the canonical signs of a *mahāpuruṣa*: the *ūrṇā*, *uṣṇīṣa* with tight curls, and long earlobes. There is obvious webbing between the Buddha's fingers, another sign of the Great Being. The Buddha's face is slightly plumper than in most Pāla images and appears less hieratic than the Buddha in *bhūmisparśa* discussed earlier (cat. no. 25).

RG

Reference

• Huntington, S. and Huntington, J.C. 1990

30 Seated Vajrapāṇi 金剛手坐像
Kashmir, *c.* 8th-9th centuries CE
克什米爾，約八至九世紀
Bronze with silver inlay, H: 22 cm
Cleveland Museum of Art Collection
Gift of George Bickford 1971.14

Vajrapāṇi is seated in the pose of royal ease (*lalitāsana*) with the left leg bent and the right pendant. Here the deity is two-armed. He holds a *vajra* (thunderbolt) in his left hand and a *gadā* (mace) in his right. The deity's face displays a ferocious expression and he has fangs at the corners of his mouth and bulging eyes inlaid with silver. He wears a *dhoti* and coiling snakes are the ornaments around his neck, waist, wrists, arms, ankles and head. The hair is arranged within a tiara and forms small wings at the temples. Vajrapāṇi, a frequent companion of the Buddha, was entrusted to protect *nāgas* from their enemies the *garuḍas* when *nāgas* came to listen to the Buddha's teaching. In order to combat the *garuḍas*, Vajrapāṇi often assumed wings and claws. Here he is seated on a rock pedestal and two lions peer from a cave, suggesting the wildness of the setting.

This bronze image radiates power and strength. There are traces of gold paint on the face and dark blue pigment in the hair, indicating that the bronze was probably worshipped in Tibet where painting bronzes was a common practice. It has been suggested that the Cleveland Vajrapāṇi may be the earliest known Tantric representation of this deity in his angry aspect (Pal 1975, fig. 60, p. 164), and in the words of the same author, it "remains one of the most significant Kashmir sculptures discovered so far".

SC

Reference
• Pal, P. 1975

30

31 Standing Buddha 佛陀立像

Nagapattinam, 7th-8th centuries CE
納格伯蒂納姆，七至八世紀
Bronze, H: 28 cm, W: 11.5 cm
Siddharth Bhansali Collection

This bronze image is cast in the south Indian style commonly termed the Nagapattinam school. This style or school, though not homogenous, is distinctly identifiable and refers to a long period of evolution at this site and in its environs between the 5th-12th centuries. The Nagapattinam style, in its earlier phase (5th-6th centuries) borrowed heavily from its neighbouring school, that of Amarāvatī (cat. no. 4), but softened the rather stern features of the face of the Buddha and also toned down the heavy frame of Amarāvatī. The Nagapattinam school also experimented with different styles of drapery and reduced the volumetric treatment of folds of the Amarāvatī school. During the Chola period (871-1250) it assumed another characteristic, that of the flaming *uṣṇīṣa,* presumably a borrowing from the Anurādhapura school of Sri Lanka (cat. no. 33). This Buddha does not have a flame atop the *uṣṇīṣa*. There is no flaming *uṣṇīṣa* on early Nagapattinam bronzes of the 5th-9th centuries (Ramachandran 1954; Pal 1984, fig. 86). Since flaming finials, particularly in bronze images, were separately cast and attached, the 'flame' very often became detached from the *uṣṇīṣa* and we therefore have to imagine that many images may once have had a flaming top. After careful examination of this image it appears almost certain that it did not have a flame and therefore can be dated to the pre-Chola period with some degree of certainty.

The Buddha here is standing in a triple flexed position called *tribhaṅga*. The very broad shoulders, the slender waist, thin lower limbs and the exaggerated flexion of his left hip give the figure a slightly unstable look. He has a marked *ūrṇā* on his forehead, and the hair is arranged in eight rows of close curls. The *ūrṇā* is normally absent in the very early Nagapattinam bronzes of the 6th century (Ramachandran 1954, p. 31) and hence I would suggest a date between the very early bronzes without an *ūrṇā* and later bronzes with a flaming *uṣṇīṣa*.

There is a great variety in the treatment of the robes on Nagapattinam bronzes. It is interesting to note that while Hindu gods and goddesses are represented in the local south Indian idiom, the Buddhas of Nagapattinam follow a north Indian style of the Gupta and Pāla variety. The Buddha in this example wears a robe that leaves his right shoulder bare, unlike the Buddha images from the Gupta school of Sarnath. On the left, the folds of the robe fall in wavy lines to his ankles. With his left hand, the Buddha holds the edges of his garment pleated in a fan-like fold. The robe is only semi transparent, unlike the fully transparent ones of Sarnath (cat. no. 23), since traces of folds can be seen in the outer garment between the waist and the ankles. A double hemline is visible at the ankles suggesting an inner and an outer garment. The figure's right hand is missing but judging from other bronzes it would have been in *abhayamudrā*. The Buddha's face is less stern and he is more approachable than the Amarāvatī Buddha. His lips, although firmly pressed together and showing strength and determination, also betray a faint but friendly and inviting smile. The eyes are more open than in examples from Gupta art.

Nagapattinam is the name of a seaside town in Tamil Nadu in south India. It was a centre of Buddhism from ancient times. Tamil literature written in the early centuries of the Common Era refers to this port as a renowned Buddhist pilgrimage centre. It was a connecting link in the long chain of sea routes from Rome to China and hence contributed its share to the cosmopolitan cultures of countries along the so-called 'Silk Road' (here used to signify both land and also sea routes). The Chinese pilgrim Yijing describes Nagapattinam as an important Buddhist centre.

During the 7th-8th centuries, which was the zenith of Pallava rule, a temple was constructed in Nagapattinam specifically to meet the requirements for worship of the Chinese Buddhist seamen who regularly visited this port. This temple was later popularly referred to as the 'Chinese pagoda' . The famous Buddhist Tantric scholar Vajrabodhi (661-730) who belonged to the court of the reigning south Indian monarch, left from this port for China via Sri Lanka and Sumatra and was responsible for spreading the Vajrayāna beliefs in China.

During the Chola period, this site became a famous centre of Buddhist learning, much like Nālandā in north-eastern India a century or so earlier. Since the Chola empire was a maritime empire, cultural contacts were activated with Southeast Asian countries which led to the exchange of Buddhist scholars between south India and the Sailendra Buddhist empire of the Indonesian archipelago.

RG

References

- Ramachandran, T.N. 1954
- Pal, P. 1984: p. 202

32 Stūpa Reliquary 聖物盒
Sri Lanka, Anurādhapura period, *c.* 200 CE
斯里蘭卡，阿蒐羅陀補羅時期
約公元二百年
Crystal and gold, H: 13.5 cm, W: 4.8 cm
James W. and Marilynn Alsdorf Collection

For details, see p. 146
PP

Published: Pal, P. 1997: cat. 93, p. 85

32

33

33 Buddha Śākyamuni 釋迦牟尼佛坐像
Sri Lanka, Anurādhapura period
7th-10th centuries CE
斯里蘭卡，七至十世紀
Gilt bronze, H: 10.8 cm, W: 9 cm
James W. and Marilynn Alsdorf Collection

This is a typical example of a Buddha image of Sri Lanka from the Anurādhapura period (*circa* 300 BCE-10th century CE). The Buddha images of the early Anurādhapura period may have been inspired by different traditions that were prevalent in the Deccan around the 3rd century. They reflect the proclivity towards geometrical abstraction and impassive grandeur of the Amarāvatī school, with the subtle modelling and eloquent simplicity of images such as those seen in the Kanheri Caves in Maharashtra.

Because Sri Lanka is primarily a Theravāda country, the early Buddhas of the Anurādhapura period do not show the variety of gestures that one notes in the subcontinent of India by the 4th century CE. In images in which the Buddha is portrayed meditating, as in this fine gilt-bronze, his hands are always placed in his lap in the classic meditation gesture (*dhyānamudrā*). Another distinctive feature of the later Anurādhapura period Buddhas such as this is the addition of the flame atop the cranial bump (*uṣṇīṣa*). The flame symbolises both wisdom and yogic heat.

PP

Published: Pal, P. 1997: cat. 116, p. 99

34 Buddha Śākyamuni 釋迦牟尼佛像
Burma (Myanmar), 11th century CE
緬甸，十一世紀
Bronze with silver inlay,
H: 47.6 cm, W: 21.6 cm
James W. and Marilynn Alsdorf Collection

35 Adorned Buddha 寶冠裝飾佛像
Burma (Myanmar), 13th century CE
緬甸，十三世紀
Wood, H: 182 cm, W: 40.6 cm
James W. and Marilynn Alsdorf Collection

Pagan in Myanmar is a famous tourist site much admired by lovers of art and architecture for its numerous temples and rich artistic expression (see map p. 71). It is indeed a temple city like Angkor in Cambodia or Bhuvanesvar in Orissa, India. Pagan served as the capital of a powerful kingdom between *circa* 1050 and 1287 CE, and most of the shrines and monastic establishments were erected during this period. In addition to the use of stone, sculptors also created a large number of images in both metal and wood to meet the demands of a pious populace. The two examples selected here are typical of two different types of Buddha images that were popular in Pagan during its heyday.

The bronze piece is smaller and probably earlier. While its stylistic relationship to Pāla period Buddha images is self-evident, the differences are also noteworthy. The wider flare of the garment, with beautiful frilling of the hem, is characteristic of Pagan Buddhas, especially those in bronze. The shape and features of the face are also recognisably different. The hands are missing, but the disposition of the arms and the frontality of the figure appear to indicate a relationship with the neighbouring Dvāravatī tradition. The bronze very possibly stood on an altar in a temple.

The later wood sculpture is larger than life size and was possibly placed in a shrine of its own. It was originally painted and gilded. The posture of this Buddha is much stiffer than that of the bronze figure, and there are no frilled edges on the garment to alleviate this rigidity. The right arm hangs straight down to display the gesture of charity, and the left holds the end of the garment against the chest. The most distinctive iconographic feature is the crown. Crowned Buddhas became popular in Bodh Gaya during the Pāla period. They symbolise the spiritual sovereignty of the Buddha, and have special significance in Vajrayāna Buddhist initiation rituals. It should also be noted that the crowned Buddha was popular at this time in the neighbouring Khmer realm, especially under the pious Buddhist monarch Jayavarman VII (*circa* 1181-1219) (see cat. no. 46).

PP

Published : Huntington, S. and Huntington, J. C. 1990: pp 222-223, cat. 63
cat. no. 34 : Pal, P. 1997: cat. 136, p. 112
cat. no. 35 : Pal, P. 1997: cat. 138, p. 114

36 Head of Buddha 佛陀頭像
Borobudur, Central Java, 8th century CE
婆羅浮屠，爪哇中部，八世紀
Andesite, H: 31.5 cm
MIK Collection II. 155

This head is typical of the Buddha heads in Borobudur in central Java (8th century CE). The *uṣṇīṣa* has clearly articulated snail-like circles curling in a clockwise direction in conformity with the canonical injunctions. The *ūrṇā* on the forehead is prominent. The Buddha figures in Borobudur are well known for their look of intense concentration, with the gaze fixed at the tip of the nose, and their sombre yet gentle appearance. Their gentleness lies in the soft, rounded contours of the face and the faint trace of a smile. Their remote, sombre faces reflect south Indian influences, but these are softened by the smile. Buddhas in Borobodur are depicted in the various *mudrās* characteristic of the different *dhyāni* Buddhas. Since the torso once attached to this head is now missing, it is difficult to tell where it was located in the structure. It is believed to be the head from one of the seventy-two latticed *stūpas* at Borobudur, with a Buddha enshrined in each, and all depicted in *dharmacakrapravartanamudrā*. Borobudur contains in all five hundred and four Buddhas.
RG

Published: MIK Catalogue, 1971 and 1976: no. 297

37 Seated Buddha or Cosmic Vairocana
大日如來說法像
Central Java, 9th century CE
爪哇中部，九世紀
Bronze, H: 11.5 cm
MIK Collection II. 217

The Buddha is shown seated on a neatly folded cloth spread over a platform seat. His torso is erect and both knees are bent at almost right angles with his legs hanging gracefully and feet resting on a lotus cushion. This posture, known as *pralambapādāsana*, was introduced to Indian art, as noted by Pal, in the Amarāvatī school and became popular in Ajanta in India and also in the Dvāravati school in Thailand. A variation of this seated position, depicting King Wima Kadphises (Rowland 1953, pl. 43), occurs in Indian art as early as the Kuśāna period (1st-3rd century CE).

The face in this image shows deep concentration and the square, set jaw a strong determination. Despite its dimunitive size, this image inspires a sense of awe and reverence. The Buddha is depicted in one of the several variations of the *dharmacakrapravartanamudrā*; here the outward-turned right index finger touches the inward-turned left index finger. This position differs from both the well-known gesture of the Sarnath Buddha and the *mudrā* of the same name exhibited by Gandhāran Buddhas (see cat. no. 14). This Buddha has the same air of sombreness and deep meditation as the huge stone image of Vairocana from Mendut and the Buddha images from central Java. The image also resembles a bronze from Caṇḍi Sewu now in the Museum Pusat, Jakarta, although in the latter the Buddha is seated on a lion throne and in front of a large, round flaming halo (Bernet Kempers 1959, pl. 63). Bernet Kempers designates this as just "Buddha", meaning Śākyamuni. This is because of the presence of a wheel on the base, which symbolised Śākyamuni's First Sermon.

The *dharmacakramudrā* is associated both with the Śākyamuni Buddha (as a teacher and later with his First Sermon), and the *dhyāni* Buddha Vairocana. The worship of the latter appears to have been popular in central Java during the 8th century. This is shown by images of Vairocana in the top three terraces of the openwork *stūpas* of Borobudur and the large stone image of Vairocana in the inner cella of Mendut. Furthermore, several metal *maṇḍalas* of deities, in which Vairocana is placed in the centre, have come to light. Vairocana is one of the five *jinas* or *dhyāni* Buddhas and is the principal deity in both the *garbhadhātu* and *vajradhātu maṇḍalas*, which were regarded as particularly auspicious by the Yogācāra school. The Tantric monk Śubhākarasiṁha introduced this deity to China and Japan and is said to have also travelled to Indonesia. Although it is possible that this image represents Sākyamuni, it is more likely to be a depiction of Vairocana and part of a *maṇḍala* group of the five *dhyāni* Buddhas. There are also several metal images from central Java of Vairocana in the *bodhyagrīmudrā*, the *mudrā* signifying the highest wisdom and the sign of both this Buddha and his *sákti*.

The Buddha's body is well proportioned and he has a high *uṣṇīṣa*. He wears a transparent monk's robe that leaves the right shoulder bare and falls over the left shoulder in an elegant fold.

RG

Published: MIK Catalogue, 1976: no. 314

References

- Pal, P. 1984: no. 158a
- Bernet Kempers, A. J. 1959

38 Seated Vajrapāṇi 金剛手坐像

Central Java, 9th-10th centuries CE
爪哇中部，九至十世紀
Bronze, H: 13 cm
MIK Collection II. 190

The varied manner in which the physical form of Vajrapāṇi is depicted and the evolution of his divine personality are indeed quite astonishing. Several images of this deity are included in this catalogue, for example, in cat. no. 10, an early Gandhāran example, he is shown as a bearded Hercules accompanying the Buddha, while in cat. no. 14 he appears as a young, handsome youth. Vajrapāṇi is nevertheless identifiable in all examples by the *vajra* he holds in his hand, although this too can exhibit enormous variety in its depiction. The Vajrapāṇi from Kashmir and now in the Cleveland Museum of Art collection (cat. no. 30) shows the deity in the same seated position as the image from central Java, but there the similarity ends. The Kashmir Vajrapāṇi has a ferocious expression and coiling snakes cover his body. This imagery is more in keeping with Tibetan variations of this deity (cat. no. 60), and Pal has suggested that the Cleveland Vajrapāṇi may be the earliest known image of this deity in his Tantric and ferocious form. The Kizil Vajrapāṇi, on the other hand, clearly betrays his hybrid Indo-Sasanian/Central Asian ancestry (cat. no. 64), both in the appearance of the deity and that of the *vajra*.

This central Javanese Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi is seated in *lalitāsana* on a double-petalled lotus throne, with his right foot on a lotus footrest and the left foot on the seat. There is a round back plate decorated with beads/pearls and a rosette in the centre, which serves a double function, both as backing for this high relief figure and as a flaming mandorla surrounding the deity. At the centre of the mandorla and above the rosette the sculpture appears damaged, and could well once have included a parasol similar to that on several metal Bodhisattvas from central Java dated to the same period (Scheurleer and Klokke 1988, pls 30-33). Vajrapāṇi wears the usual Bodhisattva ornaments and also an *upavīta* or sacred thread. His left arm rests on the seat. The left palm is not clearly visible. However, it is quite obvious that he is holding a long stemmed lotus on which rests a *vajra*. The lotus with the *vajra* atop appears on the backing. This *vajra* is shaped exactly like several bronze *vajras* found in central Java and dated to the same period, which were used together with the *ghaṇṭā* (bell) by Buddhist monks in their rituals (Scheurleer and Klokke, 1988, pls 65 and 67). A *vajra* on a *nīlotpala* or blue lotus (blue lily) is an important identifying emblem of Vajrapāṇi. His right hand, on which the fingers are damaged, is in *varamudrā*. The deity's face is expressionless, the eyes wide open and staring to the front. This image belongs to the "Classical Indonesian" artistic phase (Ghose, *vide ante*, p. 40 fn 4). The closest parallel is an inscribed 9th century stone image from the Nālandā Museum (no. 00016),[1] in which the stalk of the lotus footrest curls and falls towards the base of the pedestal. Stylistically this image of Vajrapāṇi could well belong to Group Two of central Javanese bronzes (Scheurleer and Klokke, 1988, pp 27-30).

Both the personality and visual representation of Vajrapāṇi, which owe their conceptual origins to a *yakṣa* typology, enabled the deity to be depicted in the mould of the heroic nude Herakles/Hercules wearing a lion skin around his neck in the art of Gandhāra and Mathura. Vajrapāṇi had been completely transformed by the 5th-6th centuries when he was represented in Indian Buddhist rock-cut art (Huntington 1981, pp 47-55). At this time Vajrapāṇi becomes an important deity in Tantric Vajrayāna Buddhism and a prominent figure in *maṇḍalas*.

Vajrapāṇi is depicted both independently and as an attendant of the Buddha. He is shown either standing or seated, in his *raudra* or terrifying form, and in his *saumya* or gentle form. He is represented either alone or in *yabyum* with his *śakti* Śabdavajra. Neither the Cambodians nor the Indonesians seem to have favoured the erotic or the fierce symbolic forms of Vajrapāṇi. This Central Javanese image therefore depicts the deity as sombre but benign.

RG

1 Bhattacharya, G., "The Buddhist Deity Vajrapani", *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, Kamakura 1995/96, vol. 4, pp 323-354, fig. 10.

Published: MIK Catalogue, 1971 and 1976: no. 303

References

- Flood, F. B. 1989
- Huntington, J. C. 1981
- Lamotte, E. 1966: pp 113-59
- Mallandra, G. H. 1993
- Mallmann, M. T. 1975
- Moeller, V. 1985
- Pal, P. 1972-73
- Scheurleer, P. L. and Klokke, M. J. 1988

38

39 Seated Avalokiteśvara as Padmapāṇi
蓮花手觀音像

Central Java, early 10th century CE
爪哇中部，十世紀初期
Bronze, H: 12 cm
MIK Collection II. 608

Avalokiteśvara is recognisable by the image of the seated Buddha in his coiffure and the remnants of a lotus on its stalk held in his left hand. He is seated in the posture known as *sattvaparyaṅkāsana*, with the right leg placed on the left thigh, on a double lotus throne. Half the petals of the full blown flower of the throne face downwards and the other half upwards. The image is surrounded by a flaming mandorla. The lotus seat rests on a platform with two mouldings. Avalokiteśvara is shown with his right hand in *varamudrā*. Scheurleer and Klokke have categorised Indo-Javanese bronze statues from Java into five groups. This Avalokiteśvara, belongs to the third group, which they describe as "bronzes of a purely Javanese style, of the Central Javanese period",[1] in contradistinction to Group 1, which is Pallava inspired, and Group 2, which is influenced by north-eastern India. This two-armed form of Avalokiteśvara was popular in Java, although several four-armed images of this deity are also recorded. In fact, the four-armed variety, such as that in Van Lohuizen-de-Leeuw's illustrated catalogue (1984, pl. 19), is rare in the Buddhist world in general but popular in Java. This particular image depicts the Bodhisattva in *mahārājalil-āsana* with his head resting on his raised upper right hand, in a pose suggesting that of contemplating the miseries of the world. A special form of Avalokiteśvara, known as Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara with eight arms was also worshipped in Java (cat. no. 41). The eleven-headed variety (cat. no. 78) popular in Central Asia and the Far East was, to the best of my knowledge, unknown in Java.

RG

1 Scheurleer, P. L. and Klokke, M. J., *Ancient Indonesian Bronzes*, 1988, p. 30.

Published: MIK Catalogue, 1971 and 1976: no. 307

Reference
• Van Lohuizen-de-Leeuw, J. E. 1984

39

40 Head and Torso from an Image of a Bodhisattva 菩薩半身像

Vietnam, Cham, late 9th century CE
越南，九世紀晚期
Bronze, H: 31 cm
MIK Collection II. 40

Although this head and torso from an image of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is labelled "Thailand, Śri Vijaya, 9th/10th century" in the catalogue of the Museum für Indische Kunst, it should be reclassified as a Cham bronze from Vietnam. The attribution to the Śri Vijaya period (8th-13th centuries) of Thai art history is probably due to the supposition that the piece comes from south Thailand. The iconography represents a Bodhisattva figure, the Enlightened Being of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and it has been conveniently labelled "Śri Vijaya period" because, according to traditional periodizations formulated in 1926 (Damrong 1982, p. 11), the only time that Mahāyāna Buddhism flourished in south Thailand was during this period.

Nevertheless, even if the piece was found in south Thailand as claimed, and actually does date to the 9th-10th centuries, it should be classified as a Cham sculpture discovered in southern Thailand since it has few stylistic affinities with the majority of sculptures classified as Śri Vijaya period. The only other comparable piece is a stone Avalokiteśvara image from Chaiya (Krairiksh 1980, pl. 40), which was probably influenced by a Cham image such as this.

On the other hand, Cham attribution is based on the stylistic similarities between this figure and a group of bronze images of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara discovered in Vietnam, particularly those found at Thùy-cam and Mi-dúc (Boisselier 1963, figs 37 and 39), and at Ké-nai, Quang-bình (Nandana, n.d., p. 173). The Mi-dúc figure has two arms and is depicted seated in the position of royal ease (*mahārājalilāsana*). The other two figures have four arms and stand with a slight flexion at the hip (*tribhaṅga*). This example has two arms and stands straight; the right hand probably held the stem of a red lotus (*padma*) that is now missing, and the left arm, which would have held a water pot (*kamaṇḍalu*), is broken off at the elbow. In spite of these differences, these figures all have a smiling face and tresses of hair falling to the shoulders on each side of the head. They are adorned with a diadem, ear pendants, a string of pearls, a necklace, armlets and a chest band, the designs of which are common to all figures. On the basis of their stylistic similarities, the three images found in Vietnam have been dated to the same period – around the 9th century (Nandana, n.d., p. 455)

The image said to have come from south Thailand is probably a later variant of this group, since not only is the figure depicted standing straight, but the design of the ornaments is more formalised. Chronologically, it probably bridges the period between the group discussed above and the four-armed standing figure of Avalokiteśvara in the Saigon Museum (Boisselier 1963, fig. 38), since the arrangement of the upper part of the garment and the design of the

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girdle are similar in both. The modelling of the Saigon Museum Avalokiteśvara is, however, drier and the whole figure is more stylised.

Inscriptional evidence indicates that the worship of Avalokiteśvara as an independent deity flourished in Champa between the years 875 and 1088 (Nandana, n.d., pp 432-435) and there are more images of Ávalokitesvara in Vietnam than there are those of the Buddha.

PK

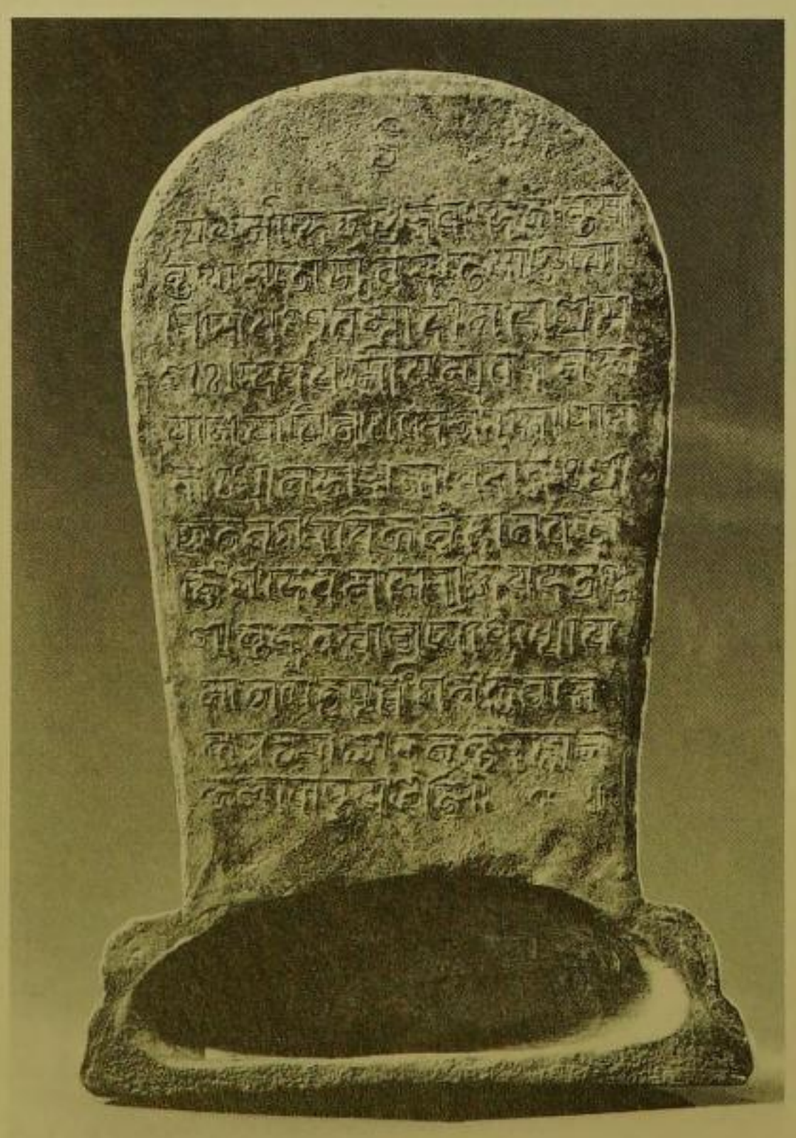
41 Maṇḍala of Amoghapāśá
不空羂索觀音壇城

East Java, Singhasari period
13th century CE 爪哇東部，十三世紀
Bronze, H: 22 cm
MIK Collection II. 233

Amoghapāśá is a manifestation of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. He thus shares Avalokiteśvara's iconography, and has a seated image of Amitābha in his coiffure. While his immense popularity in Java, Nepal, Tibet, China and Japan is documented by numerous sculptural representations, there does not seem to be an icon of this deity in India that conforms to the texts, although a few tentative Indian examples have been discussed by Pal.[1] Extant iconographical texts describing this deity are also later than some of the images.

Kṛtanagara (1268-1292), the last king of the Singhasari dynasty, was a Tantric and saw himself as the incarnation of a mixed Śiva-Buddha divine manifestation. As the royal son and successor of Viṣṇuvardhana, Kṛtanagara had his father posthumously enshrined in Caṇḍi Jāgo (13th century), and ordered that a stone statue of Amōghapāśá be placed inside the temple for worship. Unfortunately, the statue is now headless. Kṛtanagara also commissioned several bronze plaques, of which five almost identical examples (including this one) are known. They not only resemble stylistically the stone sculpture from Caṇḍi Jāgo, but also reveal revived Pāla influence from north-eastern India. The inscription that appears on the reverse, after the usual Buddhist invocatory formula "*ye dharma hetuprabhavā*", gives the reason for the commissioning of this image. It states clearly that the image was consecrated to assure the welfare of the *guru* of the benefactor, as well as his parents and finally all sentient beings.

41a



The main image of the deity is surrounded by twelve other figures forming a *maṇḍala*. Amōghapāśá is standing in *samapāda* on a three-tiered lotus cushion, which is placed on a double-petalled lotus stand, characteristically Javanese, with half the petals of the full-blown flower facing downwards, and the other half facing upwards. This in turn rests on a moulded base. The figure is well proportioned, and wears a long, transparent garment that reaches the knees and is held in place by an elaborately decorated belt with an ornamental clasp and a girdle, from which jewelled tassels also fall to the knees. He wears anklets, bangles, armlets, necklaces, an *udarabandha* (cummerbund) and an *upavīta*. He has a full face, thin lips, well proportioned eyes looking downwards and a *kirīṭamakuṭa* or crown, in the centre of which is a seated Amitābha image. Wisps of hair fall on the youthful face of the deity who is portrayed with an endearingly sweet expression. The halo surrounding the head is rendered in two concentric circles, the inner circle shown as a roundel with pearls. The ends of a scarf coming out from the crowned head form pointed folds on both sides within the halo. This feature possibly reflects Sasanian influence from Iran. Depicted just above the halo are the sun on the right of the deity and a crescent moon on his left.

The deity is eight-armed. The objects and/or *mudrās*, starting from the lower right are: *varamudrā*, *abhayamudrā*, a long *pāśa* (or noose that falls into a loop on the backing) and a rosary. From the lower left they are: a pitcher, a lotus bulb, three sticks and a manuscript. The attending figures are organised in tiers. In the top tier are four Buddhas in what appear to be four different *mudrās*, and two seated figures in each of the second and third tiers, making a total of eight. All the figures are shown inside open lotus vegetation, characteristic of the Singhasari style (Bernet Kempers 1959, pl. 238). These lotus leaves act as haloes for the attendant figures, who represent the four Tārās. In addition to these attendant figures there are four more figures flanking the main deity. These are Śyāmātārā, Sudhanakumāra, Hayagrīva and Bhṛkuṭī. Pal points out the problem of identifying the precise iconographic texts on which this class of icon is based. The known texts are later than some of the known icons, which opens up several interesting possibilities.

RG

1 Pal, Pratapaditya, "The Iconography of Amoghapasa Lokesvara I", *Oriental Art*, XII, no. 4, winter 1966, pp 234-39.

Published: MIK Catalogue, 1971 and 1976: no. 308
MIK Catalogue, 1986: p. 354

References
- Scheurleer, P. L. and Klokke, M. J. 1988: no. 62
- Moeller, V. 1985: fig. 8a
- Bernet Kempers, J. A. 1959: pl. 258 (see also pl. 260)

42 Dhyāni Buddha Ratnasambhava and Māmakī 寶生佛及明妃像

East Java, 10th-11th centuries CE
爪哇東部，十至十一世紀
Bronze, H: 17.5 cm
MIK Collection II. 194

Ratnasambhava is one of the five *dhyāni* Buddhas, the spiritual emanations of the Ādi, or Primordial Buddha. *Dhyāni* Buddhas are represented, like Śākyamuni Buddha, with an *ūrṇā* (the dot on the forehead) and the cranial protuberance or *uṣṇīṣa*, and are usually shown wearing monastic garments. Each *dhyāni* Buddha is assigned a different direction, Ratnasaṁbhava's being the south, and each has his own specific *mudrā*. Ratnasaṁbhava's *mudrā* is the boon-giving gesture or *varamudrā*. While he is unadorned in depictions from Borobudur, he is adorned in many of the metal images. In this image, both Ratnasaṁbhava and his *prajñā* (literally wisdom, his consort), whose name is Māmakī, are thus shown wearing *kirīṭamakuṭas* or crowns, necklaces, garlands, earrings, bangles and armlets. Both deities are seated on the same rectangular platform in an identical manner, in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana*. Both figures are shown with their left palms in the meditational pose or *dhyānamudrā*, but the gestures of the right hands differ. The male deity's hand is in *varamudrā* and that of his female consort in *abhayamudrā*. The flames of the flaming halo are represented as tight commas packed together, whilst the halo itself begins only from the waist of the figures. Each figure is seated under its own parasol.

In central Javanese art, *dhyāni* Buddhas are often represented on their own, although it is suspected that the smaller cellas in Caṇḍi Sewu contained images of *dhyāni* Buddhas with their respective *prajñās*, but these are long since lost. Representations of the divine couple were more frequent in eastern than in central Java.

Groups of smaller figures arranged in the form of *maṇḍalas* also became popular, such as the *maṇḍala* from Nganjuk. The best preserved image of Māmakī in stone comes from Caṇḍi Jāgo, built in the 13th century (Fontein *et al.* 1990, pl. 22). Considering several of the stylistic features, which are so ably classified by Scheurleer and Klokke (1988), I am inclined to place this image only slightly later in time than the Vairocana and consort (Scheurleer and Klokke 1988, pl. 47), and thereby assign this to the 11th century. Moeller (1985, p. 30) assigns this to the 12th century, which I feel is chronologically a little too late.

RG

Published: MIK Catalogue 1971 and 1976: p. 311, and 1986: p. 353

References
- Moeller, V. 1985: pl. III, text pp 30-33
- Scheurleer, P. L. and Klokke, M. J. 1988: no. 47 (stylistically similar Vairocana and consort)
- Fontein, J. *et al.* 1990

42

43 Two-Armed Maitreya Standing
彌勒立像

Thailand, pre-Angkor period, *c.* 700 CE
泰國，吳哥朝以前，約公元七百年
Bronze, H: 24.6 cm
MIK Collection II. 996

Several bronze Buddhas and Bodhisattvas from the pre-Angkor period have been found in north-eastern Thailand. They are particularly significant for the study of early Cambodian and Thai art, since not many bronzes have survived in Cambodia from this period. Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara, recognisable by the *stūpa* and the seated Buddha Amitābha in their respective coiffures, were the two Bodhisattvas most popularly represented during this period. This image of Maitreya shares several stylistic similarities with the Prakhon Chai bronzes, which have been dated to between the late 7th and the 9th centuries.[1] While several Maitreyas of this period are four-armed, this example has only two arms.

Iconographically Maitreya is unique, and of all the Buddhist deities he alone is represented as both a Buddha and a Bodhisattva, in keeping with his dual role in the Buddhist canons. He is the Bodhisattva waiting in Tuṣita heaven till the end of our aeon of time when he will be reborn as the Buddha (see cat. no. 28). Maitreya, in his Buddha form, prophesies a perfect world of the future.[2] The image of Maitreya appears in the very early schools of Buddhist art of Gandhāra and Mathura.

Maitreya is here portrayed as a Bodhisattva. His coiffure consists of braided locks heaped into the *jaṭāmukuṭa* or matted locks associated with an ascetic. The *stūpa* on the elongated bun, which is an identifying emblem of Maitreya from about the 5th-6th centuries onwards,[3] is clearly visible in this image. He has a squarish but full face, almond-shaped eyes that are half open and look downwards, pencil sharp eyebrows, and a broad nose with large nostrils. There is a faint hint of a smile playing on his broad, fleshy lips. His torso is bare to the waist and, true to the tradition of several pre-Angkorean images, the Bodhisattva wears no ornaments, thereby adding to the simplicity and elegance of the lines of the torso. The left knee is slightly flexed and his posture suggests a hint of *déhanchement* (flexion of the body). The slender contours of the body are accentuated by the long, but well rounded arms. Maitreya holds a jar in his left hand and a lotus bud in the right. He wears a *dhoti* falling to mid-calf, which is somewhat unusual since most Bodhisattvas are depicted wearing a short *sampot*. A simple belt forming a loop on the right and a fan-like pleat on the left holds the garment in place. The lower part of the legs and the feet with protruding heels are rather crudely executed in comparison to the overall elegance of the image. Portrayed as a youthful figure, Maitreya has a soft but nevertheless dignified and aloof appearance.

This image is closely related in style to the following images: the four-armed, 8th century Maitreya in the Musée Guimet, which also wears a *dhoti*; to the Maitreyas from Pnom Penh and Prakhon Chai (Jessup and Zephir 1997, pl. 11, fig. 1 and pl. 12); as well as the Maitreyas from Lam Plai Mat; and the Avalokiteśvara in the collection of the Denver Museum (Chutiwongs and Leidy 1994, pls. 15 and 17). Stylistically this image also has characteristics in common with the three Bodhisattvas from Ak Yom in Battambang (Dupont 1955, pls XXVII, XXIX and XXX, sp. XXXa; Giteau 1965, pl. XIV, facing p. 132, no. 131, p. 244). Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara are both often depicted carrying a jar and a lotus. Generally the jar is carried in the left hand and the lotus in the right; the Brooklyn Museum Maitreya (Chutiwongs and Leidy 1994, pl. 37), however, holds the jar in the right hand.

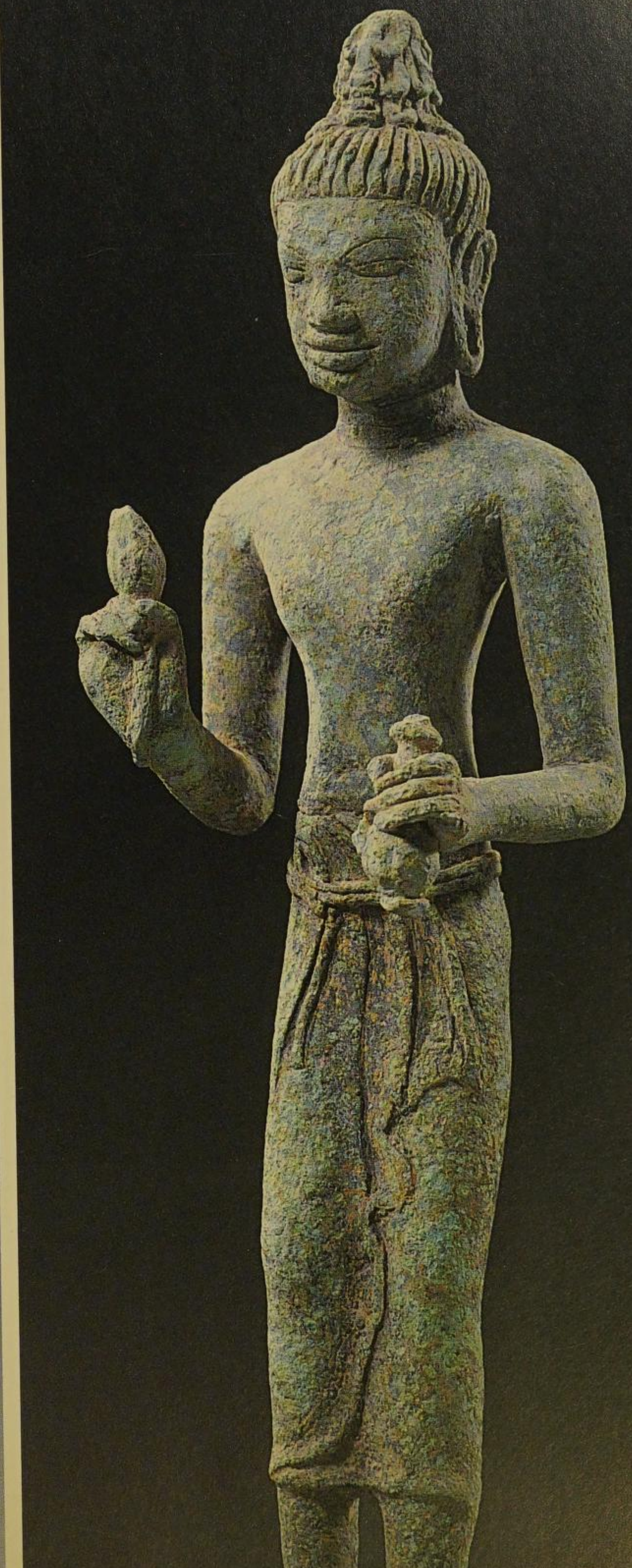
RG

1 Prakhon Chai is in Buriram province. See Emma C. Bunker 1971-72 for dating of the bronzes.
2 Emmerick, R.E., *The Book of Zambasta*, 1968.
3 Chutiwongs, N. and Leidy, D. P., *Buddha of the Future*, 1994, p. 40.

References

- Bhattacharya, G. 1980: pp 100-111
- Bunker, E. C. 1971-72: pp 67-76
- Chutiwongs, N. and Leidy, D. P. 1994
- Duflos, M.C. 1991: pp 96-101
- Dupont, P. 1955
- Giteau, M. 1965
- Jessup, H. I. and Zephir, T. 1997
- Le Bonheur, A. 1972: pp 129-154
- Mowry, R. D. 1985: pp 33-41

43a



44 Buddha Śākyamuni 釋迦牟尼佛立像

Thailand, Mon-Dvāravati period,
8th-9th centuries CE
泰國，墮羅沐底朝，八至九世紀
Bronze, H: 54.6 cm, W: 15.3 cm
James W. and Marilynn Alsdorf Collection

Except for the missing left forearm and the feet, this is a well-preserved bronze Buddha of impressive size from the ancient Dvāravati period (*circa* 400-1000 CE) in Thailand. The history and culture of the Dvāravati period are still not very well understood, but that it was a flourishing and important centre of Buddhism in mainland Southeast Asia is clearly evident from the enormous quantity of art that has survived in the region.

Although originally a Dvāravati Buddha may have been inspired by a model from Sarnath, even the very early Buddhas of this region demonstrate local variations both in modelling and iconography. For example, the figures generally stand frontally and hieratically, and both arms are extended forward at the same level and make the same gesture. In this particular example, the artist seems to have imparted a greater sense of movement by following a Sarnath model more closely and making the figure stand with a slight sense of *déhanchement*. Moreover, as in the Indian Buddhas, the two arms are disposed differently, the right being raised and the left extended forward horizontally. The left hand may originally have held the end of the robe. However, unlike the Sarnath Buddhas, the right hand does not form the gesture of reassurance (*abhayamudrā*) but exhibits the teaching gesture (*vyākhyānamudrā*) generally preferred by Dvāravati artists.

PP

Published: Pal, P. 1978: p. 128, cat. 83
Pal, P. 1997: cat. 123, p. 103

45 **Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara 觀音菩薩像**
Cambodia, Angkor period, *c.* 1050 CE
柬埔寨，吳哥朝，約一零五零年
Brown sandstone, H: 45.1 cm, W: 25.4 cm
James W. and Marilynn Alsdorf Collection

Although its four hands are broken, this figure can be identified as Avalokiteśvara by the effigy of the seated Amitābha Buddha on the low chignon. In contrast to Bodhisattva figures in other cultures, here carved ornaments are completely lacking. Very likely, however, such figures wore applied ornaments. The sculpture is a particularly handsome example of the attractive Baphuon style. What remains of the *sampot* is very similar in manner to the garment of an elegant Śiva once in a New York private collection (Lee 1969, no. 22).

PP (from *A Collecting Odyssey)*

Published: Pal, P. 1997: cat. 177, p. 137

45

46 Nāga Buddha 蛇靈護佛坐像

Thailand or Cambodia, 13th century CE
泰國或柬埔寨，十三世紀
Bronze, H: 22.9 cm, W: 10.2 cm
James W. and Marilynn Alsdorf Collection

These figures are commonly designated Nāga Buddhas in Thailand and Cambodia. The Sanskrit word *nāga* means a serpent and, as can be seen, a multi-headed reptile is an important component of the image. Crowned and bejewelled, the Buddha sits in meditation on a seat formed by the coiled body of the serpent, while its multiple hoods form an impressive nimbus above the Buddha's head.

The origins of the iconography must be sought in a well-known episode in the life of the Buddha. It is said that while the Buddha was meditating prior to his Enlightenment, a fierce storm broke out and the serpent king Mucalinda appeared and sheltered the Master by spreading his hood above the Buddha's head. While the theme is encountered in early Buddhist art on the Indian subcontinent and in early Dvāravati, it did not achieve the popularity in these areas that it did in the Khmer realm, especially under Jayavarman VII. If the sculpture is meant to depict the legend of Mucalinda, then it is interesting that the serpent's body forms the Buddha's seat, an element not familiar from the text. Could it be that this was a way of protecting the Buddha from the floods caused by the rains? A further dimension was added in the Khmer realm by placing a small container in the Buddha's hands, thereby suggesting the idea of Bhaiṣajyaguru or the Healing Buddha. Noteworthy also is the deep veneration in which the Khmers held the *nāga*, and this may have contributed to the popularity of this particular form of the Buddha.

PP

Published: Pal, P. 1997: cat. 142, p. 118

47 Eight-Headed Hevajra, Dancing
八面喜金剛像

Provenance unknown
Khmer, 12th-13th centuries CE
高棉，十二至十三世紀
Bronze, H: 30.7 cm
MIK Collection II. 1138

Hevajra is a Tantric Buddhist deity. Although several iconographic variations are described in the canons, this image closely follows the description in the *Hevajratantra*, wherein the deity is conceptualised as defining his own form: "I have eight faces, four legs and sixteen arms, and trample the four Māra underfoot" (Lobo 1997, p. 74). This image, which has eight heads, arranged in three rows with three heads at the lowest tier, four heads at the second and a solitary head at the top, is the most popular form in Cambodian art. This arrangement is significant and reflects esoteric Tantric doctrines. Hevajra is depicted with a third eye on each of his eight foreheads. He has four legs placed side by side but only two are visible from the front. He has sixteen arms.

Although small portable Hevajra bronzes were very popular between the 11th and 13th centuries in Cambodia, stone images of Hevajra are rare. The eight left hands of the deity hold (beginning from the bottom): an elephant, horse, dog, bull, unidentified, a human form, a lion and a mythical beast (Lobo *op. cit.*, p. 318). Different combinations are also known from other Hevajra images (Brand and Phoeurn 1992, p. 102). The first hand on the lower right holds an orb and all the other seven hands hold a human figure. The number of heads and their positioning, the attributes and even the ornaments worn by this deity are all intended to transmit symbolic messages to the devotee; earrings signify deafness to evil words against the *guru*, while the necklace represents sacred syllables. All of the eight heads in this piece wear crowns and earrings, and there are also three strands of mango-leaf style necklaces, which are typical of the Angkor Wat style (Giteau 1965, p. 214, no. 42).

The deity wears a short *sampot*, held in place by a belt of the same pattern as the necklaces, and anklets. He is shown dancing, balancing the weight of his body on the curled toes of one foot with the heels turned upwards, a posture known as the *kuñcita* in Indian dance literature. This belongs to the general category of *pratyālīḍha* figures. Hevajra's other leg, bent at the knee (*ūrdhvajānu*), gives him the poise and elegance of arrested movement, a short pause before the dance resumes. A 14th century Naṭarāja or Dancing Śiva from Pushpagiri in India is depicted in a similar dance pose.[1] While such a dance posture is known in several parts of India and is associated with the Hindu god Siva, the dancing Hevajra icon appears to have originated in Pāla Bengal. Hevajra is frequently shown dancing on prostrate bodies, although this is not the case in this image.

The reverse side of the image is also very artistically executed, with a flowing back sash that ends in a tapering fold and is typical of the Bayon period. It also shows a lotus in full bloom. Stylistically, this image appears to belong to the transitional phase between Angkor Wat and Bayon (Lobo *ibid.*).

Tantric Buddhism, which is esoteric and clothed in the rich symbolic use of language and imagery, would seem to have reached Cambodia and other Khmer domains in the 10th-11th centuries (cf. 968 CE, Vat Sithor Inscription).

It is interesting to note that neither the fierce forms of the deity nor the *yabyum* forms in which he is shown in close embrace with his *śakti* Nairātmya (cat. no. 54 from Nepal), symbolising esoteric categories, have been found in Khmer art. Single dancing figures of Hevajra have often been described iconographically as Heruka/Hevajra, and the name Hevajra reserved for images in *yabyum*.[2]

RG

1 Vatsyayana, K., 1968, pl. 138. I owe this information to Siri Rama, a doctoral candidate at the University of Hong Kong. Nataraja dances on Apsamara as Hevajra usually does on Mara.
2 Bhattacharyya, B., 1924, p. 164fn, suggests that Hevajra portrayed alone was known as Heruka, and represented the concept of "*advaya*" (literally no-two; thus, by implication, the point at which "duality ceases"). See also, Pal 1994-5.

Published: Jessup, H. I., and Zephir, T. 1997: pl. 100.

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47

47a

48 Crowned Seated Buddha
定印寶冠菩薩像

Thailand, eclectic, mainly Bayon style,
13th century CE
泰國，十三世紀
Bronze, H: 15.8 cm, W: 11.2 cm
Michael Martin Collection

This image of a crowned Buddha is executed predominantly in the 13th century Bayon style; the form of the crown and the shape of the necklace and armlets are clearly Bayon. The face is slightly longer and hence less square than a typical Bayon piece and the torso is slimmer. It therefore seems probable that the image was made in Thailand.

It is generally believed that crowned Buddha images evolved visually from images on which worshippers had placed a metallic crown as an act of piety. Later crowned Buddhas were depicted on stone and metal with the crown carved or chiselled as an integral part of the image and not as a separate applied ornament. Philosophically such images were explained as those of the Buddha in his transcendental form as the universal monarch. Such a tradition is also noticeable in Christian art with Christ crowned in regal majesty. Crowned Buddha images originated in the subcontinent of India during the Pāla period; those belonging to the Khmer school of art originated in the 12th century at Phimai, where the Tantric form of Buddhism was prevalent. This Buddha has an expression verging on the ferocious, a characteristic of Tantric deities. Crowned Buddhas of the Angkor Wat period have wheels on their palms and a small square across their navels, exactly like the Buddha under discussion.

This image depicts a crowned Buddha seated in a position approximating the *vajrāsana* described in iconographic manuals. The soles of the feet in a perfect *vajrāsana* posture should rest on the opposite thighs, but in this image the soles are positioned much lower. The Buddha is in the meditating *mudrā* (*dhyānamudrā*). Both palms show traces of a wheel, one of the signs of the *mahāpuruṣa* or Great Being. The characteristic *ūrṇā* is, however, missing. The joined eyebrows, the thin line of a moustache visible on the upper lip, a thick almost pouting lower lip, wide-open eyes and the look of intense concentration expressed by the taut muscles of the face are characteristic features of Tantric deities of the Bayon period executed in north-eastern Thailand.

The monastic robe is transparent and marked by two parallel striations going across the right side of the chest and over to cover the left shoulder of the Buddha. The end of the robe is neatly arranged in pleats and falls over the left shoulder in five parallel ribbon-like bands. The five bands are tied at the centre of the waist; only two bands continue on to fall on the left hand and envelope the left wrist. Such a manner of drapery, to the best of my knowledge, does not occur in Bayon images. Stylistically, therefore, this piece is eclectic and defies dating.

The *uṣṇīṣa* of the Buddha, clearly visible from the rear of the image, is cone-shaped, again a Bayon feature, as are the decorative tassels falling from the crown onto the shoulders. The rear view is impressive, with the folds of the Buddha's lower robe held in place by a ruffled belt worn over the robe, as if in imitation of applied gold belts donated to Buddha images by the faithful. The mango-leaf pattern on the belt resembles the necklaces worn by Angkor Wat figures. The metal joineries are clearly visible from the back. The image has a lovely green and brown patina.

This work is executed mainly in the Bayon style and was probably made in the 15th-16th centuries in Thailand. The date suggested is purely a subjective surmise. It is difficult to locate this image within a definite stylistic framework.

RG

48

49 Buddha Śākyamuni 釋迦牟尼佛坐像
Thailand, Sukhothai period,
14th century CE
泰國，蘇可泰時期，十四世紀
Bronze, H: 28.3 cm, W: 18.4 cm
James W. and Marilynn Alsdorf Collection

The kingdom of Sukhothai (from Sanskrit *sukhodaya*, "rising happiness") flourished from the 13th to the early 15th century CE (*circa* 1230-1438) and marks an important era in the evolution of the Thai national polity and identity. Reflecting this development, the artists of the kingdom created a new form of the Buddha, quite distinct from the Lopburi, U-Thong, or Haripunjaya styles which were influenced by Khmer aesthetics. This meditating Buddha image is a characteristic example of Sukhothai creativity.

While meditating, Buddha makes the gesture of touching the earth with his right hand. Typical of Sukhothai images, the face is oval and the ears long and crescent-shaped, with pointed ends. The Buddha's shoulders are wide, his lap even wider, and his hands disproportionately large, with long, bean-pod like fingers. The form, modelled as an abstract mass, imparts a strong sense of volume without conveying sensuality.

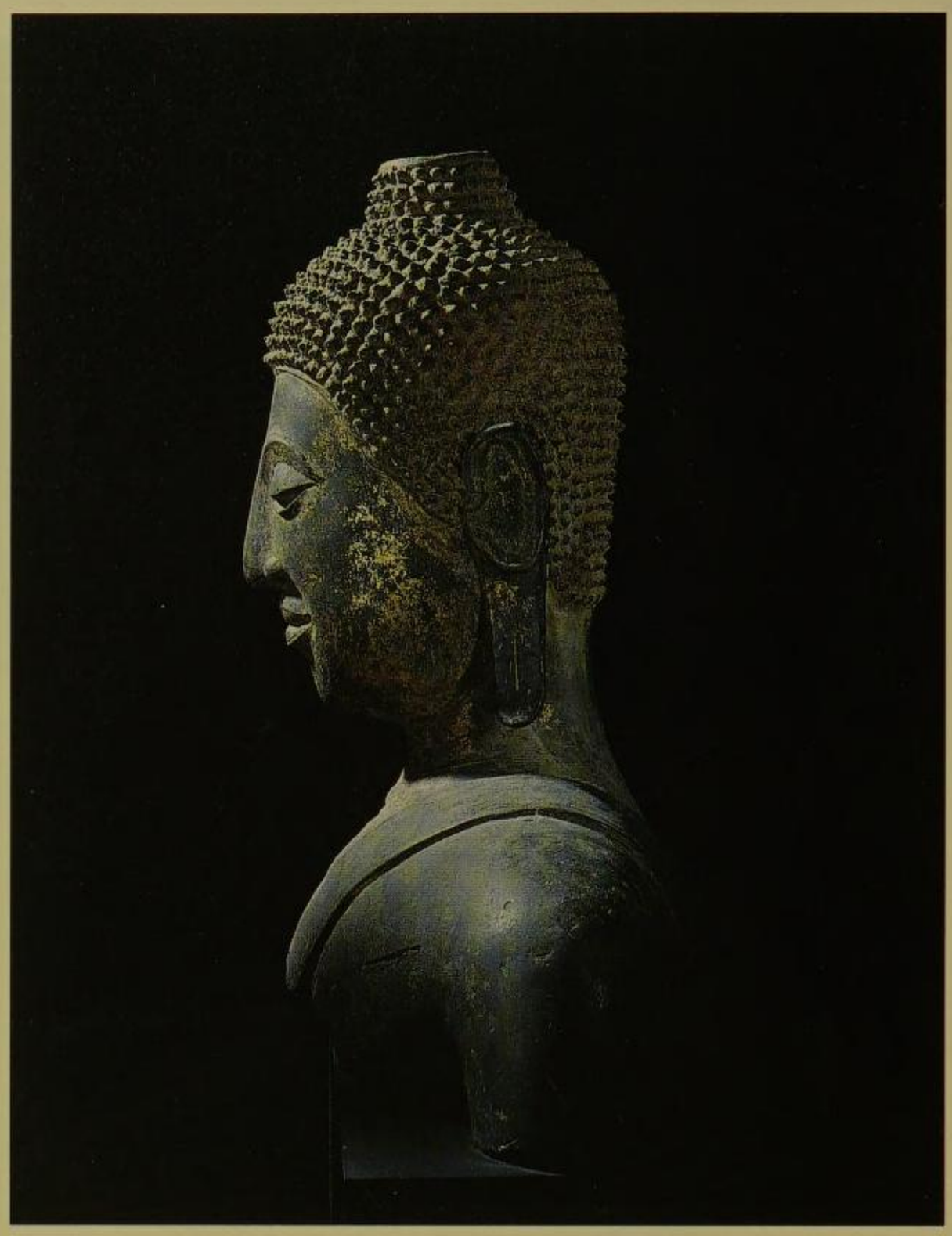
PP (from *A Collecting Odyssey)*

Published: Pal, P. 1997: cat. 149, p. 121

49

50 Bust of a Buddha Figure 佛陀半身像

Thailand, U-Thong C style,
Last quarter, 14th century CE
泰國，十四世紀後期
Bronze, H: 55 cm
MIK Collection II. 34



50a

This partially preserved bust of Buddha can stylistically be assigned to the U-Thong school. The U-Thong plastic style, or more precisely groups of styles, derives its name from that of the founder of the kingdom of Ayuthya (founded 1351). Art historians generally include several pre-Ayuthya images within the U-Thong category. However, some scholars, for example, Boisselier, are reluctant to separate U-Thong and Ayuthya into two separate categories since they see them for geographical and historical reasons as a continuum (Boisselier 1975, p. 63).

The article by Piriya Krairiksh in this catalogue (pp 80-86) highlights some of the major problems in assigning hard and fast dates to Thai icons. In spite of the general problems, however, there are stylistic signposts, although the U-Thong school is more eclectic than other Thai schools and hence more tantalising.

The U-Thong type is further subdivided into three groups on the basis of predominant stylistic legacies. Images showing significant Mon-Khmer artistic characteristics are categorised as belonging to Group A, and those with a preponderance of Khmer features are labelled Group B. Images with more pronounced Sukhothai features are classified as Group C. The last category, to which the above image belongs, is marked by an oval face, arched eyebrows, and a pointed hooked nose. The lips are delineated with double lines. Other marked features are: small hair curls on which rests an inverted cup-shaped *uṣṇīṣa*, a clear band separating the forehead from the head, and a flaming *uṣṇīṣa*, which is a *lietmotif* of Sukhothai art. The flaming finial, which is usually separately attached, is no longer extant on this image. The viewer will have to imagine a long elegant flame on the *uṣṇīṣa* of the Buddha, symbolising both the effulgence of the *yogi* in Hindu-Buddhist traditions, and the light that glowed from the Buddha after Enlightenment. This visual metaphor was introduced in Buddhist art by Sri Lankan artists of the late Anurādhapura period (cat. no. 33), and was already adopted by the makers of images classified under Group B. There are several bronze images belonging to Group C (late 14th to mid 15th century), the majority shown seated. In all probability this Buddha would have been seated in the *bhūmisparśamudrā*. Although in a fragmentary condition, this bust of Buddha shows the monastic garment covering the left shoulder with a distinctive flap. Were the image intact, this would extend down to the abdomen.

The group referred to earlier as U-Thong A has been classified as Suphanburi style by Krairiksh. The images in U-Thong Group B are now often called Sankhaburi style, while U-Thong C has reverted to being called early Ayuthya. Whatever the nomenclature of the school, Buddhas such as the one under discussion show a marked Sukhothai influence, without, in my view, being able to capture some of the soft elegance of the best specimens of Sukhothai art. There is a certain hardness and dryness to most of the images belonging to this rubric.

RG

Published: MIK Catalogue, 1971 and 1976: no. 342

Reference
• Boisselier, J. 1975

51 Buddha Sheltered by Mucalinda
蛇靈護佛坐像
Nepal, Kathmandu Valley
11th-12th centuries CE
尼泊爾，十一至十二世紀
Schist, H: 44.2 cm, W: 33.5 cm
James W. and Marilynn Alsdorf Collection

Although in Nepal the Transcendental Buddha Akṣobhya is often represented with a snake, in this instance the image probably represents an event from the life of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni. Akṣobhya's identifying gesture is that of touching the earth, but this Buddha's hands are in the meditation (*dhyāna*) gesture.

According to the story, once, while Śākyamuni was meditating, a violent storm broke out. A serpent king called Mucalinda felt compassion for the solitary monk and spread out his multiple hoods to protect him. The event is represented in early Buddhist art on the subcontinent in both narrative and iconic contexts, but appears seldom in later Buddhist art.

Sculptural representations of the theme are rare in Nepal, where this handsome image must once have graced a niche of a *stūpa*. Stylistically, it can be compared to a small illustration on the cover of a manuscript dated to 1054 (Pal, ed. 1984, cat. 8; *idem* 1985, p. 193-94, cat. P2). In both, the figure of the Buddha seems engulfed by the enormous coiled mass of the multi-hooded serpent. Compared with the miniature painting, the sculpture has greater spatial depth because of the cave-like configuration of the coils in which the Buddha sits, his figure almost detached from the background. Between the simple form of the serene Buddha and the intertwined coils of the serpent, the contrast seems deliberate – a sculptor's metaphor of the difference between the innate calm of *nirvāna* and the chaotic flux of *saṁsāra*.

PP (from *A Collecting Odyssey)*

Published: Pal, P. 1997: cat. 40, p. 115

52 **Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī**
文殊菩薩像
Nepal, Kathmandu valley, 14th century CE
尼泊爾，十四世紀
Bronze, H: 13.4 cm, W: 14 cm
James W. and Marilynn Alsdorf Collection

Like Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī is an important Bodhisattva, and in Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna Buddhism he is frequently represented as a companion to the Buddha, and forms a principal interlocutor in philosophical texts. He is also worshipped on his own as a god of wisdom. Curiously, he is related to the Hindu deities Kumāra Kārttikeya (son of Śiva) and Kāma (the God of Love in Hindu mythology). The expression *kumāra*, meaning boy or prince, is often appended to both Mañjuśrī's and Kārttikeya's names, and both have the peacock as their *vāhana* (vehicle).

Both in iconographic texts and in art Mañjuśrī has diverse forms, some of which are esoteric. One such esoteric form is illustrated in this handsome, lively bronze from 14th century Nepal. When Mañjuśrī is engaged in sexual congress with Prajñāpāramitā (who symbolises the concept of non-duality), he is known as Guhya-Mañjuvajra or Arcane Mañjuvajra. The union is symbolic of compassion and wisdom which together lead to *bodhichitta* or the state of Enlightenment. Two of the Bodhisattva's hands hold a bow and arrow, which are also the attributes of the god Kāma. The other two hands hold a bell and a thunderbolt, and cross at the wrists as the deity embraces Prajñāpāramitā. This is known as the *prajñāliṅgana* (embracing wisdom) gesture. One of the third pairs of arms is broken while the remaining one holds a cup. Mañjuśrī is also identified with the sixth transcendental Buddha Vajrasattva or the Adamantine Being.

PP

Published: Pal, P. 1997: cat. 185, p. 142

52

53 Primordial Buddha Vajradhāra 金剛手像
Southern Tibet, 15th century CE
西藏南部，十五世紀
Silver and semiprecious stones,
H: 16.5 cm, W: 10.5 cm
James W. and Marilynn Alsdorf Collection

Although elaborately adorned like a Bodhisattva, the figure in fact represents Vajradhāra, the Primordial Buddha first worshipped by the Buddhists probably at the great Indian monastery of Nālandā in about the 10th century. Also known as Ādibuddha, he is popular in both Nepal and Tibet, where he is closely associated with the well-known *Kālacakra Tantra*, most recently popularised by the Dalai Lama. Indeed, the monotheistic concept of Ādibuddha as synthesiser of diverse Esoteric (*Vajrayāna*) teachings was first introduced in the *Kālacakra Tantra* (see Bhattacharyya, B. 1958, pp 42-44).

Regally attired and ornamented, the Buddha is seated in the meditation posture. His hands, crossed against his chest, hold the thunderbolt and the bell in the gesture known as *vajrahūmkāra* ("the adamantine sound"). He is not only the originator of the Five Transcendental Buddhas but also embodies *śūnyatā*, or voidness.

This finely modelled silver figure may have been placed at the centre of a *maṇḍala*. Stylistically, it is closely related to sculptures and paintings in the well-known monastic enclave of Gyantse in southern Tibet (for examples and a comprehensive study of Gyantse, see Lo Bue and Ricca 1990).

PP (from *A Collecting Odyssey)*

Published: Pal, P. 1997: cat. 152, p. 123

54 **Hevajra and Nairātmya in Sexual Embrace**
喜金剛及明妃像
Nepal, Kathmandu valley, *c.* 1600 CE
尼泊爾，約一六零零年
Gilt bronze with pigments,
H: 50 cm, W: 33 cm
James W. and Marilynn Alsdorf Collection

In Tantric or Esoteric Buddhist theologies, the concept of *bodhichitta*, or the mental state of Enlightenment, is expressed by a sexual metaphor (see cat. no. 52). The male partner of this embracing couple symbolises method or *upāya*, generally considered to be compassion, and the female partner represents Wisdom. Only by combining the two can Enlightenment be achieved. It should be noted, however, that such images were used by adepts in secret rites and were not meant to be revealed to the non-initiated.

An entire school of Tantric Buddhist theology developed around the deity Hevajra, who, along with his *prajñā* Nairātmya (literally no-soul), is the subject of this intricate and lively composition. As is usual in such forms, the male has multiple limbs while the female has human attributes. Hevajra is here shown holding a wide variety of creatures on his many arms, which clearly announce both his cosmic and cosmogonic natures. Like the Hindu god Śiva, Hevajra also dances a cosmic dance, but here he is joined by his consort. Dance here signifies "innate joy", which is the nature of Enlightenment. In addition to Nepal and Tibet, the cult of Hevajra was extremely popular in the Khmer realm during the 12th-13th centuries. The Khmers also preferred the dancing form, but rarely represented Hevajra in sexual embrace.

PP

Published: Pal, P. 1997: cat. 196, p. 150

54

55 Mask of Bhairava 金剛面具

Nepal, 18th century CE
尼泊爾，十八世紀
Gilt copper, H: 53.5 cm, W: 46 cm
MIK Collection D. L. Kuhn. 8

Bhairava is one of the wrathful forms of Śiva, and together, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā make up the Hindu triad. Bhairava wears large earrings decorated with serpents. His hair stands on end and is twisted into rope-like curls ornamented with a jewelled crown of foliated diadems inset with turquoise and coral. Beneath this is a skull crown with a single tranquil head of a Bodhisattva and hung with pearl tassels. Earlier representations of Bhairava include a crescent moon and serpents in the hair, but these are not depicted in this image. Bhairava's mouth is open to reveal fangs and a round hole, made for the insertion of a straw or pipe from which worshippers could imbibe beer. The fearsome mask is surrounded by two decorative bands, one foliate and the other of flames.

Bhairava is worshipped by both Hindus and Buddhists in Nepal, a region in which these religions co-exist peacefully, and where the deity is often depicted in the form of a ferocious mask. The depiction of Bhairava as a full figure, such as cat. no. 57, is rarer.

Hundreds of masks of Bhairava in various materials decorate the streets of Nepal during the Indrajātra festival which is celebrated for eight days in the autumn. On the third night, people gather at the Hanuman Dhoka (the ancient royal palace complex in the centre of Kathmandu) and are given free beer dispensed from a tube in the mouth of the famous Śveta Bhairava mask so that they will be blessed for the remainder of the year. [1]

TB

1 Slusser, M. S. *Nepal Mandala*, 2 vols, 1982.

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55

56 Head of a Monk 僧侶頭像

Tibet, 18th century CE
西藏，十八世紀
Gilt bronze, H: 37 cm, W: 33 cm
MIK Collection D. L. Kuhn. 3

The shaved head and kindly countenance of this figure identify it as the head of a monk. He has wrinkles on his forehead, long ear lobes and bushy eyebrows. The head is gilded and painted, and the eyebrows and moustache are painted blue according to Tibetan tradition; peaceful deities are shown with blue hair, while the hair of wrathful deities is painted a fiery orange-red. Complying with the same tradition, the pupils are carefully delineated in black, and the lower lids are red.

Tibetan images of the Buddha often show him accompanied by two major disciples Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, each holding a staff and an alms bowl. In Sino-Tibetan art, the wrinkled monk-attendant is usually identified as Kāśyapa[1] and the youthful figure as Ānanda. This tradition can be traced back to Buddhist sculptures of the Tang dynasty,[2] in which Ānanda stands to the right of the Buddha and the aged Kāśyapa to the left.

In this image the wrinkles identify the figure as Kāśyapa; the eyebrows knitted in a frown give the face an air of asceticism. It is the face of one who adheres strictly to the monastic discipline.

This head once belonged to a large image composed of a number of parts; such heads are usually made as one piece and then riveted to the body.

TB

1 An unpublished example of a gilt-bronze image of Kāśyapa, with his name inscribed on the base, is in the collection of the Asian Art Museum (B60 B327).

2 d'Argencé, R. Y. L. and Turner, D. *Chinese, Korean, and Japanese Sculptures in the Avery Brundage Collection*, 1974, nos 84 and 86.

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56a

56

57 **Bhairava and Consort***
金剛及明妃像
Nepal, 18th-19th centuries CE
尼泊爾，十八至十九世紀
Gilt copper inlaid with lapis lazuli, coral and turquoise, H: 21 cm
MIK Collection I. 2769

Siva, in his wrathful form as Bhairava, steps on two human figures in a militant pose, while his consort Pārvatī rests gracefully on his thigh with one leg bent and the other pendent. The figures are supported on a lotus pedestal, which in turn rests on a decorated rectangular base. A flaming leaf-shaped halo ornamented with a row of skulls encloses the whole group.

In Nepal Bhairava appears more often as a mask (cat. no. 55) than as a complete figure as in this example in which he is depicted in a ten-armed form. In his major hand Bhairava holds a skull cup and Pārvatī holds a similar attribute. He also holds various weapons indicating his power, including an upraised sword, a head, a *ḍamaru* (double-sided drum), a noose and a shield.

This unique example has an interesting combination of metal and inlaid stones. Bhairava is inset with pieces of lapis lazuli, a semi-precious stone from Afghanistan, and Pārvatī is inlaid with coral. Coral and turquoise are used to embellish the two prostrate figures beneath Bhairava. This type of work is typical of Newari craftsmanship and is more commonly seen on the jewellery and jewelled shrines of Nepal.

TB

* For other examples, see Pal 1975, p. 98 and Nies 1982, p. 78.

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58 Tantric Deity 密宗神像

Tibet, 18th century CE
西藏，十八世紀
Bronze, partially gilt, inlaid with turquoise,
H: 23.5 cm
MIK D. L. Kuhn Collection I. 5901

This Tantric deity is depicted in a military stance with one leg bent and the other extended. His head and upper torso are at an angle, and his three bulging eyes, flame-like eyebrows and mouth open in a snarl to reveal fangs give him a fearsome appearance. As is customary for wrathful deities in Tibet, his head and curly beard are painted red. The deity's face is decorated with cold gold (a mixture of gold and yak skin glue). His jewellery and scarves are gilded with mercury.

In his raised right hand the deity brandishes a hook-like instrument decorated with a thunderbolt (perhaps an elephant goad), while the forefinger of his left hand points in the *tarjanīmudrā* or threatening gesture. The Tantric deity is ornamented with jewellery studded with turquoise and serpents encircle his limbs. An animal skin is wrapped around his lower torso and his body is draped with a long serpent and billowing knotted scarves. The ends of the scarves curl gracefully, and the sculptor was particularly adept at depicting the knots.

The identity of this Tantric deity is unknown, but he may be an attendant to wrathful deities such as the Eight Guardians of the Law.

TB

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59 Skull Cup 顱缽

Nepal, 18th-19th centuries CE
尼泊爾，十八至十九世紀
Rock crystal embellished with gilt silver and coral, H: 19 cm, L: 30.5 cm
MIK Collection D. L. Kuhn. 10

The skull cup is an important ritual object in Tantric Buddhism. As an attribute, it is held in the hands of deities such as Padmasaṁbhava and *dākinīs* (female goddesses who walk in the sky and transmit teachings) and wrathful deities such as the guardians Mahākāla and Vajrabhairava. Human bones are widely used for ritual implements: for example, thigh-bone trumpets, prayer beads made from human skulls, and the bone apron and jewellery worn by deities and used in sacred dance performances.

As its name implies, a skull cup is made from a human cranium. It may be plain, or made of precious metals and other materials, and sumptuously decorated. Crystal skulls are rare. This example is carved to resemble a human skull, and is decorated with three smaller skulls and a human head on the rim. On the human head is a *mantra* in Lantsha script in relief and edged with beading. A silver band edged with beading covers the rim, and on the outer rim is a row of tiny gilded skulls. At the centre of this elegant object is a gilded lotus decorated with a piece of red coral.

Skull cups are used ritually to contain various liquids, including blood, and symbolically to hold the "five types of meat" – from the cow, dog, elephant, horse and humans. Such cups are also depicted in paintings of wrathful deities where they contain the offerings of the five senses – eyes, nose, heart, ears and tongue.

TB

References

- d'Argencé, R. Y. L. and Turner, D. 1974
- d'Argencé, R. Y. L. and Tse, T. 1969
- Aryal, Raj M. and Winkler, J. 1977
- Bechert, H. and Gombrich, R. 1984
- Cummings, M. 1982
- Nies, J. and Nies, M. 1982
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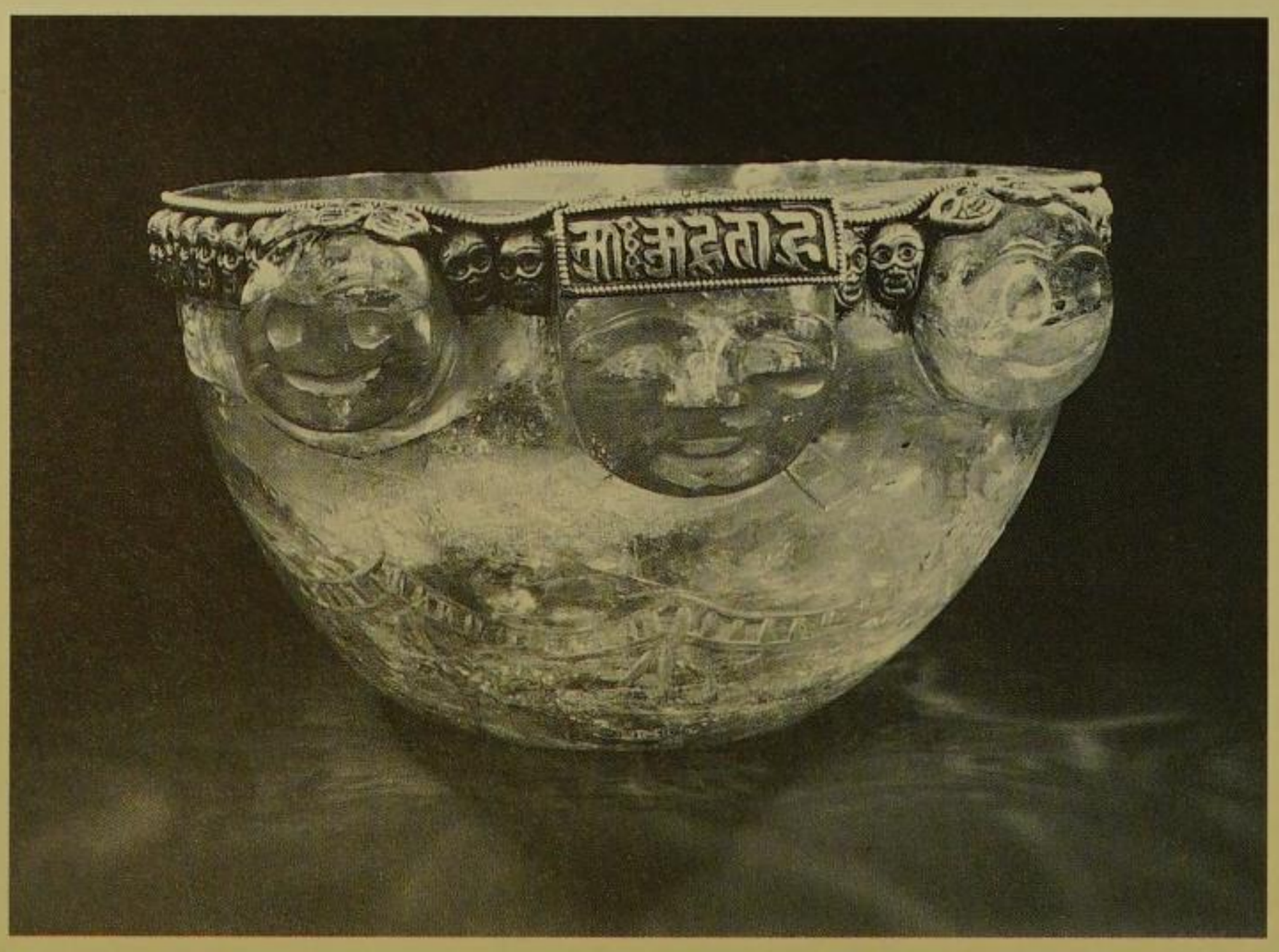

59a

60 Vajrapāṇi 金剛手像

Tibet, 19th century CE
西藏，十九世紀
Bronze, H: 26 cm
MIK Collection I. 10178

60a

Vajrapāṇi, together with Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī, are collectively known as *rigs gsum mgon po*, the three main Bodhisattvas of Tibet. This powerful protector stands in the archer pose with right leg bent and left leg extended. He holds the thunderbolt (*vajra*) aloft in his right hand, and his left hand forms the threatening gesture (*tarjanīmudrā*), with the middle and ring fingers touching and the forefinger and little finger raised. Vajrapāṇi is a wrathful deity and here he is depicted as a squat figure with a round belly. His bulging eyes are inlaid with lapis lazuli and there is a third eye on the forehead. His mouth is open to reveal fangs and, as is typical of wrathful deities, his flaming hair is surmounted by a thunderbolt painted red.

The figure is naked except for a lower garment consisting of a tiger skin. Vajrapāṇi is bedecked with strings of jewellery, serpents, scarves and a garland of freshly severed heads. A feeling of power emanates from this masterfully sculpted figure.

Vajrapāṇi is the holder of the 'secret doctrine' that overcomes all internal and external obstacles. In this image he holds a *vajra* which embodies the power of the Buddha's esoteric doctrine to vanquish the 'demons' of the outer and inner worlds that cause pain and suffering for living beings.[1] In Buddhist iconography, Vajrapāṇi first appeared in Gandhāran art as a guardian of the Buddha Śākyamuni. His iconography evolved through the ages and his form became more complex. The Gandhāran Vajrapāṇi carries a simple bone-like thunderbolt (cat. no. 10), while the thunderbolt held by this bronze Vajrapāṇi is more sophisticated, with a narrow waist and clusters of nine prongs at each end representing the nine divisions (*yānas*) of the Buddha's teaching.[2]

TB

1 Robert W. Clark, verbal consultation
2 Robert W. Clark, verbal consultation

References

- d'Argencé, R. Y. L. and Turner, D. 1974
- d'Argencé, R. Y. L. and Tse, T. 1969
- Aryal, Raj M. and Winkler, J. 1977
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- Pal, P. 1991
- Pal, P. 1997
- Slusser, M. S. 1982

61 Atīśa, the Monk 阿底峽像

Tibet, *c.* 15th century CE
西藏, 約十五世紀
Gilt bronze, H: 15.5 cm, W: 10 cm
Namkha Dorjee Collection

According to Tibetan tradition, Buddhism was introduced into the country in the 7th century by two wives of the then king of Tibet, Songtsen Gampo. While the historicity of this legend could be questioned, it serves as a perfect metaphor for early Tibetan culture which owed a great deal to the lands to its east and west. New teachers gradually brought new ideas and codes of discipline. Atīśa (Tibetan, Joborje, 982-1054) was the second great *guru* to be deified in Tibet; the first was Padmasaṁbhava.

Atīśa was an old man of sixty when he first arrived in Guge in 1042 after having declined several earlier invitations from the rulers of Western Tibetan states. He was well known as a scholar and teacher in the Buddhist world, and had taught at the prestigious Buddhist universities of Bodh Gayā, Odantapuri and Vikramaśīla in north-eastern India. He arrived as an itinerant monk-scholar, but made central Tibet his home and died in Nyethang in 1054. It is believed he crossed the sea three times and met the great master Dharmakīrti in Suvarṇadvīpa (literally the Golden Isles, most probably referring to Sumatra).

Tibetan rulers periodically invited scholars, not only for genuine spiritual and academic reasons, but also to reform the Buddhist monastic establishments, which they believed had become corrupt. These teachers also gave their patron-monarchs religious and cultural legitimacy.

Atīśa's form of Buddhism laid great stress on the philosophical teaching of the so-called "wisdom *sūtras*" (*prajñāpāramitāsūtras*). He also restored monastic order and discipline and is believed to have founded the Kadampha sect, along with his famous disciple Bromstonpa. In addition to popularising the Kālacakra (Wheel of Time) school of Tantra, he also gave fresh impetus to the cult of Avalokiteśvara. Atīśa was followed by another great teacher, Tsong Kha pa, who founded the Gelugpa sect, of which the Dalai Lama is the head. Atīśa and Tsong Kha pa are the two most revered teachers of Tibetan Buddhism. Atīśa is also credited with the authorship and translation of several Buddhist texts, and is believed to have discovered several works in Tibet that had been long lost in India. He copied them and sent the copies to Buddhist universities in India. Atīśa was regarded as an incarnation of Mañjuśrī, the personification of wisdom in Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Atīśa is always portrayed in art wearing a typical Tibetan monk's hood, and seated either on a lotus throne or a cushion with his hands usually in *dharmacakrapravartanamudrā*. Atīśa also usually has a *stūpa* as his symbol. In paintings he is shown wearing a red garment and a yellow cap. Often he is depicted holding two lotuses from which emerge a ritual knife or *khaḍga* and a manuscript.

In this delicately and tastefully sculpted bronze image, Atīśa is seated in *padmāsana*, with his body flexed delicately to his left and his head also tilted gracefully to the left. The figure's rather inviting smile as he demurely lowers his eyes gives the image a truly romantic quality. As portrayed here, Atīśa is neither an ascetic nor a stern teacher but one who wins the hearts of his followers by sheer charisma.

He wears rich but restrained embroidered garments and small gold dots decorate his monastic robe. His earlobes appear to fly in opposite directions, giving the monk a rather coquettish air. His face is smooth and youthful, even though he was already aged when the Tibetans first came to know him. To Atīśa's right is a staff on which is an elegant *chörten* (Tibetan *stūpa*), and to his left is a beautiful jar with a lotus embossed on the lid. He is seated on a lotus throne and under a highly decorative leafy canopy.

The slight bend of the body, the tilt of the face and the graceful curves are inspired by Pāla art, but the figure has a certain whimsical quality that puts it in a class of its own. This image is a fitting tribute to one whom the Tibetans regard as a great teacher and whose honorific title, Atīśa (his given name was Candragarbha, and his Buddhist name Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna), carried with it connotations of the Transcendental Personage.

RG

62 Graceful Head of a Devatā 天神頭像

Kizil, Cave of the Painters (Cave 207),
5th century CE
克孜爾，五世紀
Wall painting, H: 17 cm, W: 10 cm
MIK Collection III. 8690a

This small graceful head once belonged to a scene of Buddha's sermon in the Cave of the Painters, traditionally thought to be one of the earliest of the Kizil caves. This cave was most beautifully decorated and consisted of a wide vestibule connected to the cella by a flight of wooden steps. At the time of its discovery, most of the ceiling had collapsed, but the remains of a pseudo lantern roof were still recognisable. A real lantern roof construction is used primarily in free-standing buildings, and generally consists of four triangular stone slabs across the corners of a square. This process is repeated in diminishing tiers until the opening at the top is small enough to be closed with a single slab. This method of construction has been used in several of the cave temples, as it is here.

Like many of the caves, Cave 207 belongs architecturally to the *stūpa*-pillar type, that is, the main icon on the pedestal of the *stūpa*-pillar in the rear wall was surrounded by a barrel vaulted ambulatory for performing the ritual of *pradakṣinā*.

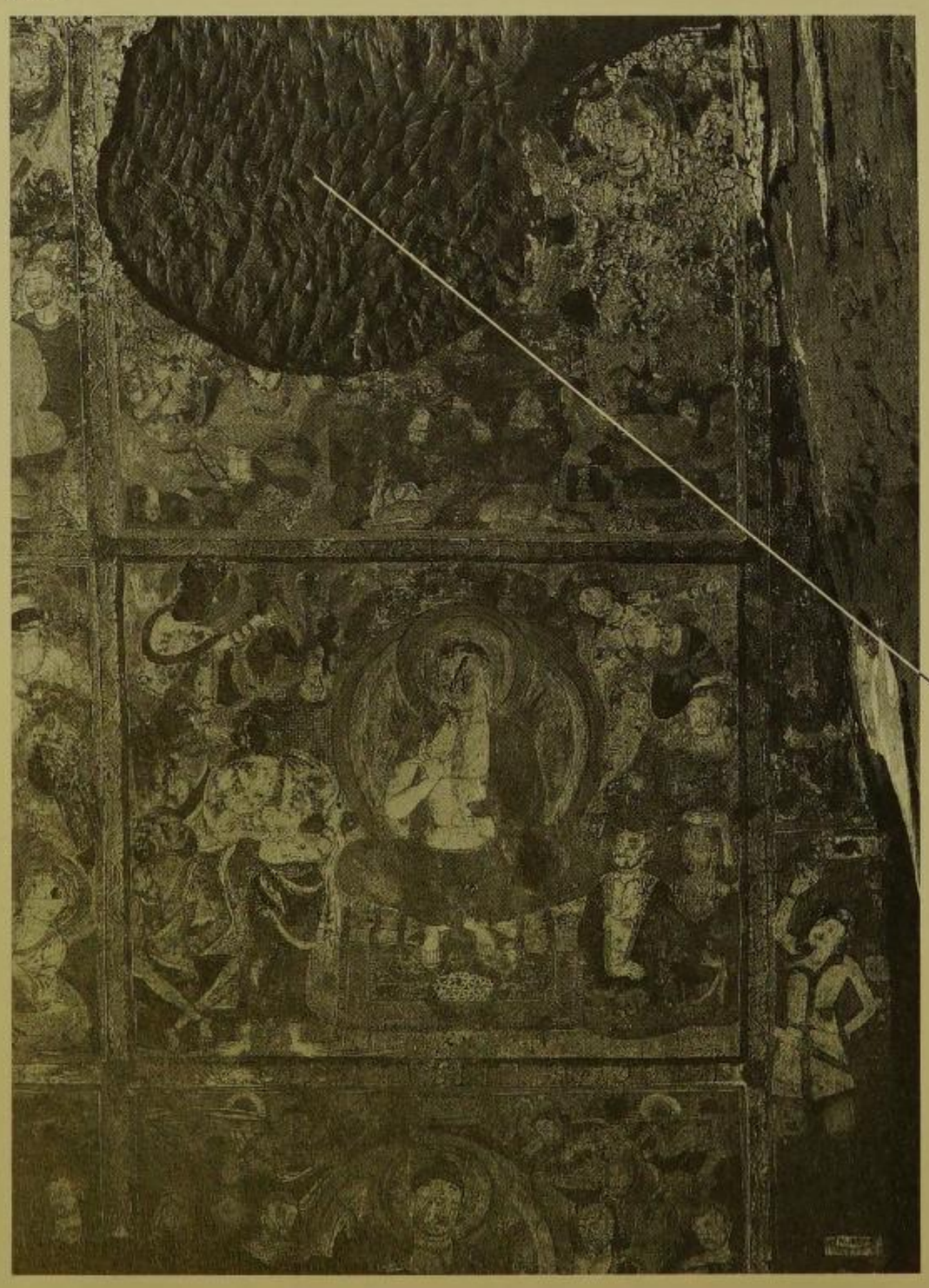
Although the main image has not been preserved in this cave, a mural of the *indraśailaguhā*, the visit of the god Indra, was painted on the wall of the niche. According to the legend, the Buddha once retired to a cave in order to meditate. Indra, wishing to ask him some questions, approached him with several other gods. To announce his visit, Indra sent ahead the Gandharva Pañcaśikha, who played a soothing melody on his harp.

The side walls of Cave 207 were decorated with nine scenes of the preaching Buddha. This charming head of a *devaputra* belonged to one of the nine scenes. The *devaputra* hovers in the air, the thumb and forefinger of his left hand placed thoughtfully to his lips.

The Germans called this the Cave of the Painters because of the portraits of painters that decorated the walls. One of these was even signed; above the hardly visible male head at the feet of the painter is a cartouche containing the name of the artist or donor: "*citrakāra tuṭukasya*" (portrait of the painter Tuṭuka).

MY

62a



** The figure In pl. 62 would originally have been here.

References

- Grünwedel, A. 1912: p. 154, fig. 354
- Härtel, H. 1982: p. 74, pl. 14
- Härtel, H. and Yaldiz, M. 1987: pp 46-47 (ill. 3)

62

63 The Cowherd Nanda 牧者難陀像

Kizil, Cave of the Statues (Cave 77), 5th century CE
克孜爾，五世紀
Wall painting, H: 60 cm, W: 33 cm
MIK Collection III. 8838

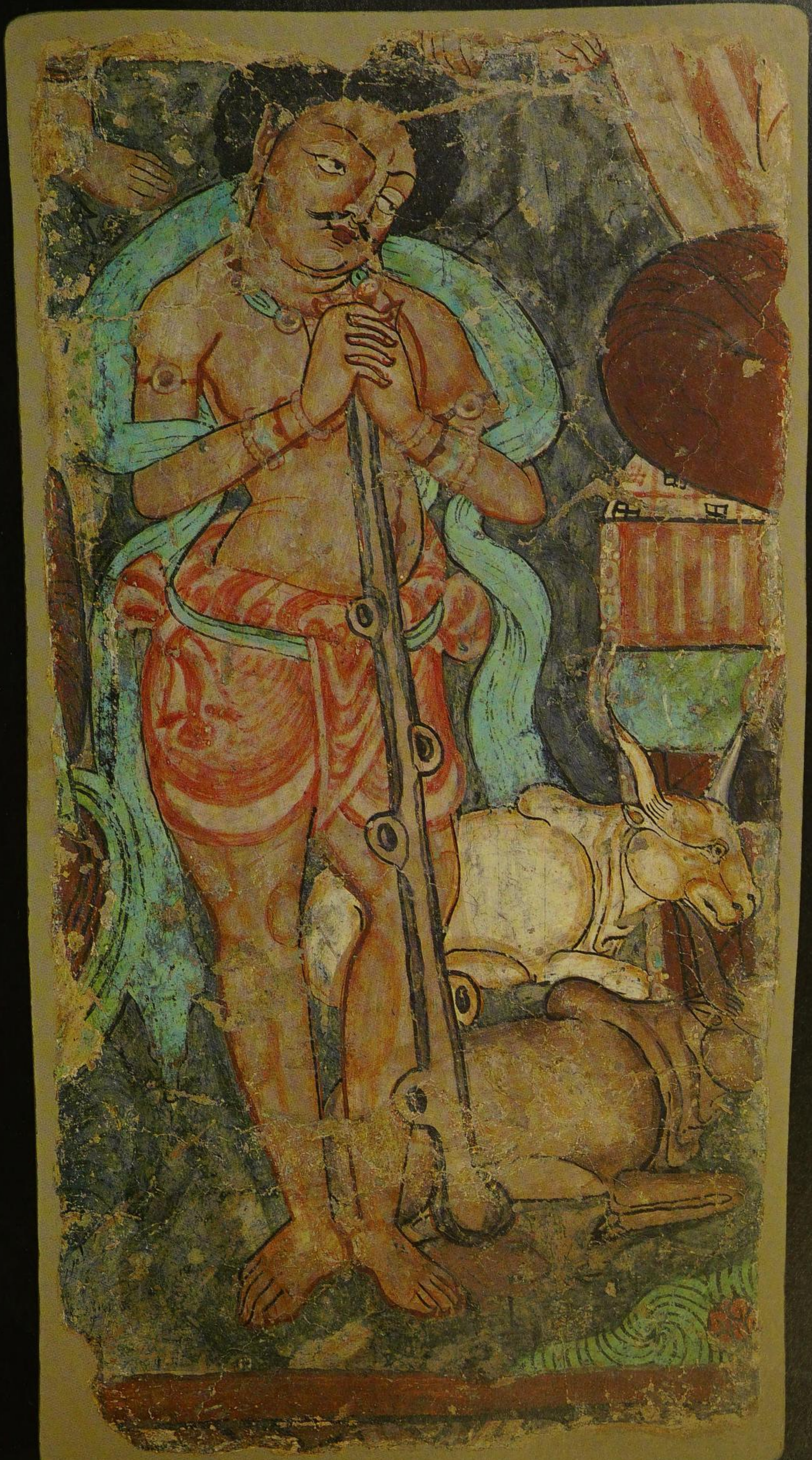
This painting and cat. no. 64 both belong to a series of murals depicting Buddhist sermons that were discovered in a cave known as the Cave of the Statues because of the quantity of clay figurines it contained. According to traditional chronology, this cave is dated to the 5th century which makes it one of the earliest temples at Kizil. In the new Chinese chronology, Cave 77 is representative of the second phase, which covers the period from the early 5th to the early 6th century, i.e., 395 ± 65 to 465 ± 65 CE (Su Bai 1983, pp 162-78; Howard 1991, pp 68-83).

Buddhist literature contains numerous references to sermons preached by the Buddha during his wanderings. Many of these are quoted at length, in order to pass on to the faithful the moral tenets they enjoin. Since pictures are often more convincing than words, it is not surprising that Buddhist artists should have taken up such themes and depicted them in so many varied ways. Scenes of the Buddha preaching are particularly common in the cave monasteries of Central Asia, where one type of composition dominates – the Buddha seated in the centre with his right hand raised in the *abhayamudrā*. He is always surrounded by a number of other figures.

The cowherd Nanda belongs to just such a scene. In this painting, the Buddha, seated on a pedestal covered by a cushion, is visible on the upper right of the painting. To the lower right is a brook, a swirl of green carrying along a floating red blossom. Two cattle, one brown and the other white, lie relaxed on the ground behind the central figure. The cowherd Nanda meanwhile rests on his gnarled stick as he listens devotedly to the words of the Buddha. He is concentrating so deeply that he is oblivious to the poor frog he crushes beneath his stick. The frog, only the silhouette of which is still recognisable, would have escaped if it had not meant disturbing Nanda's concentration. According to legend, the frog was rewarded by rebirth as a god, while Nanda decided to enter the Buddhist order (Dutt 1947, vol. III, part 1).

MY

References
• Le Coq, A. v. and Waldschmidt, E. 1928: VI, p. 66, pl. 3c
• Bussagli, M. 1963: p. 72 (ill.)
• Härtel, H. 1982: p. 67, pl. 9
• Härtel, H. and Yaldiz, M. 1987: p. 42, pl. 1



64 **Vajrapāṇi, the Constant Companion of the Buddha 金剛手像**
Kizil, Cave of the Statues (Cave 77), 5th century CE
克孜爾，五世紀
Wall painting, H: 57 cm, W: 40 cm
MIK Collection III. 8839

Vajrapāṇi is one of the most interesting personalities in Buddhist iconography. Often merely described as a guardian spirit, he deserves much wider attention. He is found in almost all depictions of Buddha's sermons, and often has a demonaic appearance expressed by his pointed ears, protuberant eyes and tusks.

In this painting, however, Vajrapāṇi has been given a very different demeanour. He sits gracefully on a wicker or bamboo stool and turns in a respectful manner to listen to the preaching of the Buddha, whose pedestal and right knee are visible in the upper right corner. Below are two sharp-beaked, falcon-like birds staring attentively at an unknown object, the upper bird moving rapidly towards it. In his left hand Vajrapāṇi holds his 'weapon', the *vajra*, and with his right hand he fans the Buddha with his *caurī*. Vajrapāṇi wears only a brown *dhoti* with ruffled green borders and a green scarf suspended from both sides of a hoop decorated with a large disc and two plumes of feathers. His facial expression reveals his complete devotion to the Enlightened One, while his high rank is indicated by a halo and elaborate ornaments.

Although Vajrapāṇi's crown appears to be of Sasanian origin, his black curly hair, almond-shaped eyes, narrow moustache and cross-shaped navel are characteristics commonly found in contemporary Indian art.

MY

References

- Le Coq, A. v. and Waldschmidt, E. 1928: VI, p. 66, pl. 3b
- Härtel, H. 1982: p. 68, pl. 10

65 **The Self-Sacrifice of the Bodhisattva**
菩薩捨身故事
Kizil, Cave of the Musicians (Cave 38)
6th-7th centuries CE
克孜爾，六至七世紀
Wall painting, H: 30 cm, W: 25.5 cm
MIK Collection III. 8390

The Cave of the Musicians consisted of a barrel-vaulted cella with an icon pedestal at the rear wall and an ambulatory. Richly decorated with paintings starting at the right entrance beyond the lintel and continuing into the vault, it was entirely covered with stylised, lozenge-shaped mountainous landscapes showing scenes from the *Jātaka* and *Avadāna* and narratives dealing with Bodhisattva's self-sacrifices.

The scene represented here has not yet been identified. A male deity in a *dhoti* is standing beneath a tree and about to cut his throat with a sword. In front of him, to his right, kneels a woman with a child in her arms. The tiny body of the baby is completely swathed in bandages and it appears to be either seriously ill or perhaps even dead. The male figure, most probably a Bodhisattva, is about to sacrifice himself in order to save the child.

Numerous blood-offerings such as this are depicted in the Kizil Caves. The legend of *Rūpavatī Avadāna* is illustrated in the Prayer Wheel Cave (Cave 114). In this story the Bodhisattva, in the guise of the noblewoman Rūpavatī, cuts off her breasts to feed a starving woman who is about to eat her own child. The same story occurs in this cave. In both paintings the baby is fully swaddled.

Based on the style and the colouring of the murals, the Cave of the Musicians has traditionally been dated to the 7th century, but the Chinese date it to the first phase at the Kizil Caves, i.e., 310 ± 80 to 350 ± 60 CE.

MY

References

- Grünwedel, A. 1912: pp 69, 70, fig. 141
- Le Coq, A. v. 1926: V, pl. 10a
- Le Coq, A. v. and Waldschmidt, E. 1928: p. 40, fig. 126
- Bussagli, M. 1963: p. 48 (ill.)
- Rowland, B. 1974: pp 166f, 170, 171 (ill.)
- Härtel, H. 1982: pp 84, 85, pl. 22
- Gies, J. 1996: pp 215-216, pl. 161

66 The Buddha in a Dragon Boat
龍舟上的釋迦

Kizil, Cave of the Musicians
6th-7th centuries CE
克孜爾, 六至七世紀
Wall painting, H: 34 cm, W: 30.7 cm
MIK Collection III. 8707

This painting is very similar to the preceding one (cat. no. 65). The Buddha is seated on a dragon-boat which resembles the merchant Śroṇakoṭikarṇa's boat in the Cave of the Seafarers. The small, nearly naked figure to the right is probably the ferryman. The Buddha dominates the painting; his head is surrounded by a halo and his body by a striking mandorla.

The subject of this painting might well be one of the final miracles performed by the Buddha shortly before his *parinirvāṇa*. Wishing to travel from Rājagṛiha to Vaisali, the Buddha had to cross the Ganges River near a place called Pāṭaliputra. Since it was high tide, no ferryman was willing to take him to the opposite bank, so the Buddha called upon his supernatural powers and floated through the air across the water. In this painting, the ferryman appears to be moving the boat, although no pole is to be seen.

MY

References
- Grünwedel, A. 1912: p. 69 (fn 50)
- Härtel, H. 1982: p. 85, pl. 23
- Härtel, H. and Yaldiz, M. 1987: pp 74, 75 (ill.)
- Yaldiz, M. 1987: p. 33, pl. VIII

66

67

67 Frieze with Sasanian Bird Motif 鳥飾
Kizil, Cave 60 (the Largest Cave),
6th-7th centuries CE
克孜爾，六至七世紀
Wall painting, H: 52 cm, W: 110 cm
MIK Collection III. 8419

Although today even larger caves have been found at Kizil, this cave was the largest at the time of its discovery by Albert Grünwedel. A series of clay Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and *devatās* were placed on platforms on the sides of the walls. The fronts of these platforms were decorated with friezes of bead-edged roundels. The medallions show ducks facing each other; the ribbons around their necks appearing to flutter in the wind. In their beaks, the ducks hold strings of beads with pendants of beautiful green and black jewels. The plumage on the breasts and stomachs of the ducks is variously patterned with scales, checks or vertical and horizontal stripes. These large medallions are connected by similar, but much smaller, roundels with convoluted decorations in the centre; the spaces between them are filled with medallion stems with three star-like blossoms. Although the colours have faded, the design is still very clear.

Medallions encircled by a ring of beads and depicting animals or fabulous beings were originally derived from designs on Sasanian textiles, but are also found in paintings or modelled in clay.

MY

References

- Le Coq, A. v. 1924: IV, p. 25, pl. 150
- Rowland, B. 1974: pp 160 (ill.), 164
- Härtel, H. 1982: p. 82, pl. 19
- Härtel, H. and Yaldiz, M. 1987: p. 64, pl. 10

68

68 Head of Mahākāśyapa 大迦葉頭像
Kizil, Cave above the Largest Cave,
7th century CE
克孜爾，七世紀
Wall painting, H: 46.5 cm, W: 71 cm
MIK Collection III. 8373a

High above the largest of the Kizil caves is a small, very inaccessible temple of the *stūpa*-pillar type, consisting of a cella with an icon platform and an ambulatory. With the exception of two small fragments, all the paintings in this cave had already been destroyed when it was discovered. One of these fragments carries a depiction of the head of Mahākāśyapa, one of the Buddha's best known and most devoted followers.

The expression of grief on Mahākāśyapa's face would suggest that this image must have belonged to a *mahāparinirvāṇa* scene, a conclusion drawn after comparison with similar, but better preserved paintings. Mahākāśyapa's head is slightly inclined, and behind him is a flowered background. His hair is cut short and shaved away from his temples in two wings. The outlines of his eyes, eyebrows, nose, ears and neck are strongly accentuated, and his face is framed by a light blue beard of the same colour as his hair. The earlobes have been stretched by the rich ear ornaments he once wore. A small piece of Mahākāśyapa's green patchwork robe is visible at the shoulder.

From the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, a Sanskrit text discovered in Central Asia, and its parallels in Pali, Tibetan and Chinese, we learn of the events that took place shortly before and after the death of the Buddha. All these texts contain almost identical descriptions of the preparation of the Buddha's final resting place. Ananda, one of his favourite disciples, prepared a place between two *śāla* trees in a forest near Kuśinagara. The trees bloomed out of season, showering the body of the Buddha with flowers to the accompaniment of celestial music. These texts also mention several other events, for example, the last instructions of the great teacher for the spread of his *dharma*. Finally, after pointing out the transience of the *saṁsāra* and having urged his disciples to continually improve their behaviour, morality and ethics, the Buddha passed away and attained the final *nirvāṇa*.

Mahākāśyapa was not with the Buddha at this time, but on his way from Pāvā to Kuśinagara with a great congregation of monks. When he heard of the Buddha's death he hurried at once to the deathbed (cat. no. 16).

MY

References
• Le Coq, A. v. 1924: III, p. 28, pl. 2
• Bussagli, M. 1963: pp 71, 75 (ill.)
• Härtel, H. 1982: pp 82-83, pl. 20
• Härtel, H. and Yaldiz, M. 1987: pp 61-62, pl. 9

69

69 The Sun God Sūrya 太陽神像
Kumtura, Cave 19
7th century CE
庫木吐剌，七世紀
Wall painting, H: 51 cm, W: 43.5 cm
MIK Collection III. 8479

From literary sources and epigraphical records we know that sun-worship existed in all periods and throughout the world. Symbols indicative of sun-worship first appear in India in prehistoric times and from the Kuśāṇa period onwards sun images appear on coins as well as in the sculptural arts.

In Central Asia, the Sun God Sūrya is represented mainly in paintings, especially murals, and also on textiles.

This wall painting was originally in Cave 19, a temple that was only accessible through Caves 18 and 16 along a narrow mountain pass. The cave itself, although badly damaged, was beautifully painted. It consisted of a square cella with a *stūpa*-pillar and *pradakṣiṇapāṭha*. The central image was a Buddha made of clay, seated in a niche and surrounded by a typical mountainous landscape with *indraśaila* motifs. The Future Buddha Maitreya was depicted on the opposite wall. The walls of the cella were completely covered with rows of images of Buddha sermons one above the other, while Garuḍa, the Moon God, Pratyekabuddha and Sūrya decorated the zenith of the vault.

Sūrya is seated cross-legged within a huge flaming mandorla on a carriage with large wheels. He is dressed in a green coat-like garment. The upper body is covered by blue armour and three tips of a white shawl billow out from behind each side. Sūrya's right hand leans forcefully on his right knee and his face wears a determined expression. In this illustration the Sun God is barefooted, a very rare form of representation since Sūrya normally wears boots in combination with his armour.

MY

70 Worshipping Bodhisattva 合什菩薩像

Kumtura, Temple 12
9th century CE
庫木吐剌, 九世紀
Wall painting, H: 63 cm, W: 31.5 cm
MIK Collection III. 8377

The monasteries of Kumtura are spread across three gorges on both banks of the Muzart River approximately 25 kilometres southwest of Kucha. In addition to a great number of cave temples, some free-standing temples have also been discovered in the area.

This fragment is one of the finest examples of the richly coloured mural paintings discovered in the whole of Central Asia. It originally belonged to the paintings on the right-hand side of a door. Next to a meandering border on the right of the painting is the depiction of a standing Bodhisattva. A large, plain nimbus surrounds his head, and the hair is tied with a band below the topknot. Rich ornaments decorate his head, ears and body. The upper part of the body is draped with fluttering scarves, while a garment of two different colours, bound by a white cloth, hangs from the hips.

The partially preserved figure on the left, also wearing rich ornaments, holds a book (*poṭhi*) put together in a typical Indian style. In the lower right-hand corner is a head in profile wearing a cap. The curiously oblique halo behind the head does not appear to belong to this figure. Below and to the left the remains of a head and a nimbus are visible.

Although most of the temples in Kumtura demonstrate Indian and Iranian influence, there are some caves painted entirely in a Chinese style. While the Indo-Iranian school tended to produce stereotyped works with recurring motifs – at least in some cave temples – here we have a freer, more casual brush technique that gives greater scope for individual forms of expression. In addition, the large colour spectrum, ranging from soft pastel shades to deep red, blue and dark green, was unknown in Indian painting styles at that time.

MY

References

- Le Coq, A. v. 1924: III: p. 39, pl. 11
- Bussagli, M. 1963: pp 90, 91 (ill.)
- Härtel, H. 1982: pp 126, 127, pl. 63

71 **Prophecy of Buddha Śikhin**
式棄佛預言
Bezeklik, Cave 16
8th-9th century CE
柏孜克里克, 八至九世紀
Wall painting, H: 50 cm, W: 47 cm
MIK Collection III. 6871

The central figure in this painting is a Buddha, seated on an octagonal lotus throne under a stylised tree. His head is surrounded by a halo consisting of four concentric circles, and his body by a mandorla of five concentric circles. The Buddha's outer robe has a green border and covers both his shoulders. His right hand is raised in *vyākhyānamudrā*. There are two figures at each side of the Buddha; in the upper left-hand section of the painting is a Buddha, also with a halo consisting of four concentric circles. He holds a flask in his right hand and kneels on a cushion, and below him is a worshipping Bodhisattva. On the upper right is a representation of Buddha's demon-like companion, Vajrapāṇi, who appears in the form of a warrior clad in armour and carrying his attributes the *vajra* and *caurī*. Beneath him is a kneeling *arhat* with three pointed rays of light indicating his supernatural powers.

Two verses above and below the painting written in north Turkistan Brāhmī describe the content of this painting: during the *kalpa* (aeon) of Buddha Śikhin, those who donated jewels for the Buddha's garden received the prophecy that they would attain Enlightenment. The kneeling figure to the left of the Buddha is the donor.

This mural came from the vault of Cave 16 and was the fourth of forty-eight similar representations of Buddha's sermons.

MY

References

- Gies, J. 1996: pp 188-189, pl. 141
- Sander, L. 1997: pp 285-301

72 **Demoniac Figure 魔道**
Bezeklik, Temple 9
9th century CE
柏孜克里克，九世紀
Wall painting, H: 64.2 cm, W: 25.7 cm
MIK Collection III. 6875

Temple 9, which extended out from the rockface, consisted of a porch from which two stuccoed steps led to a rectangular cella with a *pradakṣiṇapātha*. In the centre of the cella stood the *stūpa*-pillar with a niche for the icon. Only the painted image of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara with his *parivāra* has been preserved. The walls of the cella were decorated with fifteen monumental *praṇidhi* scenes, legends related to the Bodhisattva who subsequently became the Śākyamuni Buddha. The paintings depicted the meeting of Avalokiteśvara in an earlier incarnation with the Buddha of the related *kalpa*; the Bodhisattva worships him and expresses his dearest wish (*praṇidhāna*) to become a Buddha himself, and is finally given the prophecy (*vyākaraṇa*) of his future Buddhahood.

The door of the cella was once also adorned with paintings, but so much had fallen away from the left-hand pillar that only the remains of a life-size female deity, probably the goddess Hāritī, could still be made out. The right-hand pillar bore the outlines of a male figure in armour, no doubt meant to represent the god Kubera. To his right knelt this demoniac figure holding aloft in both hands a tray with a small vessel containing two thick, burning wicks. The demon's round, pudgy face has been given a grotesque expression by means of his wide open eyes, the unnaturally painted eyebrows and fangs. His black hair is covered by a cap, reminiscent of the Buddha's coiffure, but decoratively bound with a ribbon and with two feathers at the front. The demon has an ornate outer garment and a plain, reddish-brown undergarment.

MY

References
• Le Coq, A. v. 1913: p. 15
• Bussagli, M. 1963: pp 102 (ill.), 104
• Härtel, H. and Auboyer, J. 1971: p. 268, fig. 246
• Härtel, H. 1982: p. 147, pl. 82
• Härtel, H. and Yaldiz, M. 1987: p. 124, pl. 51

72

73

73 **Dragon in a Lake 湖中龍**
Bezeklik, Temple 19
9th century CE
柏孜克里克，九世紀
Wall painting, H: 66 cm, W: 56 cm
MIK Collection III. 8383

The hall of worship designated Temple 19 at Bezeklik is a cave temple hewn from the rock. It has a barrel vault with an arched window over the entrance door. The pedestal of the main icon is situated further forward than usual, so that the space behind it is almost as large as the cella in front.

The mural was part of a larger scene on the right-hand wall of the pedestal, but we have no description or visible evidence of the mural in its entirety. The legend to which this painting refers therefore cannot be positively identified. Stylised mountains dominate the picture, their valleys wooded with various kinds of trees. The mountains encircle a lake from which emerges a two-horned dragon with slender wings. The monster's forequarters, claws, head and neck with a white mane are visible. He looks very ferocious with his wide-open mouth, massive jaws and angry eyes, and creates the impression that he is leaping out of the water in an aggressive attack.

In the valley in the foreground, the head of a timid gazelle is to be seen hiding behind a mountain.

MY

References

- Le Coq, A. v. 1924: III, 49f, pl. 22
- Bussagli, M. 1963: pp 104, 109 (ill.)
- Härtel, H. 1982: pp 148-149, pl. 84
- Härtel, H. and Yaldiz, M. 1987: pp 124, 125, pl. 52

74

74 **Seated Buddhas 佛陀坐像**
Bezeklik, Temple 19
9th century CE
柏孜克里克，九世紀
Wall painting, H: 67 cm, W: 72 cm
MIK Collection III. 8382

This fragment of a row of almost identical Buddhas is from the corner of the pedestal in Temple 19. Two Buddhas, alike apart from the position of their hands, sit with legs crossed on large stylised lotus blossoms under canopies hung with bells and studded with precious stones. The figure on our left has his left hand in the gesture of teaching (*vyākhyānamudrā*), which is quite unusual. Unfortunately the right side is badly damaged. The other Buddha has his right hand in the same gesture, while with his left he holds the folds of his garment. The haloes and mandorlas that surround their heads and bodies lend warmth to the painting with their harmonious gradation of earth colours. The Tibetan character of this painting is quite evident.

MY

References

- Le Coq, A. v. 1924: III, p. 49, pl. 21
- Härtel, H. and Auboyer, J. 1971: p. 269, fig. 250
- Rowland, B. 1974: pp 179f, 186, 187 (ill.)
- Härtel, H. 1982: p. 150, pl. 85

75 Uygur Princesses 維吾爾族公主像

Bezeklik, Temple 9
9th century CE
柏孜克里克，九世紀
Wall painting, H: 66 cm, W: 57 cm
MIK Collection III. 6876b

The two narrow surfaces of the east wall in Temple 9 at Bezeklik bore pictures of Uygur princes and princesses on each side. In these well-preserved paintings, the two princesses with Central Asian features are walking solemnly towards the left along a wave-patterned carpet with narrow borders on each side. They are wearing wide, sand-coloured robes without a pronounced waist-line. Their V-shaped necklines are edged by a collar embroidered with red spiral lines. The fastenings in the centre and along the seams of the upper sleeves, and a band around their garments at knee height, are outlined with red and white braids. The red cross-hatched fabric of their undergarments can be seen at the neck and totally covers their wrists and hands. Their elaborate coiffure marks them as members of a privileged class. The hair is arranged into butterfly wings, one on each side, and fastened with ornamental pins. Each wears a magnificent crown. Behind them, a rust-red sash, tied in a decorative bow at hip level, hangs from their hair almost to the ground. Like the prince in cat. no. 76, each woman has a flower. However, the single, long-stemmed flower is painted over the hands. The use of flowers in this manner is also mentioned in several prayers for the deceased in a Uygur text translated from the Chinese (v. Gabain 1973, p. 165f). The depiction of such long-stemmed flowers, which are not held in the hand, occurs quite frequently. Gabain also mentions a painting at Dunhuang, dated to the year 971, in which an inscription describes the painting as a depiction of the deceased parents and several other family members. In this painting, the father and mother have a flower painted over their covered hands, although the living have no such flower. Gabain suggests that pious descendants depicted the deceased with a flower in order to express their wish for a blessed rebirth. It is therefore probable that these two princesses, the one on the right referred to in an inscription in a cartouche which reads: "This is a picture of her Highness Princess Joy" (v. Le Coq 1913, pl. 30b), were already dead when the picture was painted.

MY

References

- Bussagli, M. 1963: pp 101, 107 (ill.)
- Härtel, H. 1982: pp 169, 171, pl. 109

76

76 Uygur Prince 維吾爾族太子像
Bezeklik, Temple 19
9th century CE
柏孜克里克，九世紀
Wall painting, H: 57 cm, W: 37.5 cm
MIK Collection III. 8381

Temple 19 at Bezeklik is a long, narrow, rectangular cave temple divided almost in half by a *stūpa*, so that the cella is nearly the same size as the space behind the *stūpa*. This temple is different from most of the other caves in that it has an arch-shaped window above the door.

This mural with its depiction of a princely donor was discovered among the rubbish piled in front of the *stūpa* pillar. The Uygur prince, whose name and title can be read on the cartouche below his left elbow, stands in front of a window with red curtains tied back on either side. He wears a long robe with a pattern of roundels and a wide belt; his hair is crowned by a high tiara fastened under his chin with a red ribbon. The prince's long, black hair falls down his back and his unusually thick beard frames his cheeks rather than covering them. Unlike the princesses in cat. no. 75, he holds a long-stemmed flower in his hand.

MY

References

- Le Coq, A. v. 1924: III, p. 46f, pl. 18
- Bussagli, M. 1963: pp 101, 106 (ill.)
- Rowland, B. 1974: pp 189f, 195 (ill.)
- Härtel, H. 1982: p. 172, pl. 110

77 **Buddha under a Canopy 華蓋下的佛陀**
Khocho, Temple I
6th-7th centuries CE
高昌，六至七世紀
Wall painting, H: 23.5 cm, W: 21 cm
MIK Collection III. 8731

Although its geographical position made the Turfan region more susceptible to cultural influences from the east than from the west, there are some art objects from Turfan that closely emulate a Kizil style.

This beautiful head of a Buddha, the head inclined slightly towards his right, surrounded by an oval nimbus and surmounted by a canopy, is reminiscent of the *praṇidhi* paintings from Temple 9 at Bezeklik. The only visible parts of the Buddha's body are his shoulders covered by a garment and encircled by a mandorla. Although the broad patches of shading give this painting a pronounced relief effect, the face of the Buddha and the shape of the nimbus more closely resemble those of a Buddha depicted on a wooden tablet from Kizil than its Chinese antecedents.

MY

References

- Bussagli, M. 1963: pp 96, 97 (ill.), 101
- Härtel, H. 1982: p. 154, pl. 90
- Härtel, H. and Yaldiz, M. 1987: p. 127, pl. 54
- Yaldiz, M. 1987: p. 128, pl. 70

77

78 Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara
十一面觀音菩薩像
Toyuk, 7th century CE
吐裕溝，七世紀
Wood, H: 38 cm
MIK Collection III. 7204

This is a unique sculpture of an Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara. Apart from a slight bend in the left knee, the figure stands in *samabhaṅga*. His lower left arm and the instep of his right foot are missing. Around the Bodhisattva's waist is a beaded chain; one end of the chain, embellished with an ornamental tassel, is held in the deity's pendent right hand, and the other, with a smaller tassel, dangles between his knees. Avalokiteśvara's face and slender body are gently carved and the sculptor has expressed the contemplative mood and compassionate nature of the Bodhisattva in a masterly fashion.

Avalokiteśvara is in princely attire. His curly hair forms waves across his forehead and he wears an ornamented crown. The top-knot is decorated with ten small heads of equal size: at its apex is a Buddha head flanked by two Bodhisattva heads; a laughing head is visible in front of the Buddha head; to the right of the crown are three heads with fangs; and on the left three angry faces. With the exception of the Buddha's head all wear a crown.

Ornaments at the neck, right wrist, upper arms and ankles are meticulously carved, particularly the necklace and the *channavīra*. He wears a long skirt, not a *dhoti*, and part of it is tied with a sash and rolled over at the waist. The upper hem falls around his hips in U-shaped folds like a short skirt. The garments have delicate folds revealing the legs reminiscent of the "wet-cloth" technique of Gupta sculptors.

Around the 5th century, Mahāyāna Buddhism regained vigour in south-western India, and the concept of the Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara was developed from the Vedic and Hindu pantheons. The *Avalokiteśvara Ekādaśamukhadhāraṇī*, a Sanskrit text containing the earliest complete iconographic description of the Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara, was translated into Chinese by Yaśogupta between 561 and 577. The earliest representation of the Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara, dated to the 6th century, was discovered in Cave 41 at Kanheri in India (Gokhale 1989, pp 74-79). He is depicted standing in *samapādabhaṅga*, holding a long lotus stalk in his left hand and his right hand in *abhayamudrā*. The ten heads are arranged in the form of a pyramid. However, in this image the Sanskrit text has not been followed closely. In the sculpture from the MIK Collection, however, the text has been adhered to in detail and according to Rhie, it is "almost completely consistent with the specifications for the Eleven-headed Kuanyin" (Rhie 1988, p. 8). Rhie has dated the image to the first half of the 7th century, and stylistically this would seem appropriate. This is the earliest Tang dynasty (618-907) representation of an Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara found in Central Asia.

CH

Reference
- Gokhale, S. 1989: pp 74-79
- Härtel, H. 1964: p. 19, fig. 22
- Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Berlin 1970: cat. no. 18
- Rhie, M. 1988: pp 1- 44, figs 2 and 3
- Teru, U. 1988: p. 62, fig. 90

78a

78

79 Bhaiṣajyaguru 藥師佛像

Khocho, 8th-9th centuries CE
高昌，八至九世紀
Ramie, H: 90.5 cm, W: 27.5 cm
MIK Collection III. 4803

This anthropomorphous banner is the most common type from Central Asia and is classified as Type A (Haesner 1997, pp 393, 395-401). The triangular top section, representing the head, and the narrow rectangular body are made of a single piece of ramie. The side and bottom streamers, representing the arms and legs respectively, are incomplete. The banner is painted on both sides.

Obverse (pl. 79)
A Buddha figure is painted on the red ground of the headpiece. Below the Buddha's lotus seat there is an ornamental band representing the canopy, beneath which sits Bhaiṣajyaguru in *padmāsana* on a lotus seat. His round aureole touches the central part of the canopy. The right arm and hand in *vyākhyānamudrā* are damaged. The Buddha's left hand, placed on his lap, holds a black bowl.

A kneeling male devotee supports Bhaiṣajyaguru's lotus throne. He wears a black cap and a tight green tunic with a black sash around the waist. His size and position suggest that he is the main donor of the banner. To his right is a young monk with a tonsured black head and a red robe; there are two more young male devotees to his left. All are kneeling with their hands in *añjalimudrā*.

The male donor closest to the donor in the centre turns to a larger figure on his left in order to converse. The garments worn by these two figures are similar to that of the main donor, but they are painted red and have no sash. The sleeves are full-length and tight-fitting.

Reverse (pl. 79a)
The figure of the Buddha on the headpiece and the stylised canopy band are the same as those on the obverse. Bhaiṣajyaguru is seen seated under the canopy on a lotus seat, and there are only minor variations between the figures of Bhaiṣajyaguru on the obverse and reverse.

A monk donor supports the lotus throne and next to him is a female devotee. Both are kneeling and hold flowers in their hands, which are in *añjalimudrā*. A chubby, naked boy, his right arm outstretched, can be seen behind the female devotee to the left of the monk donor.

The female donor's hair is shape like the wings of a butterfly and is drawn into a high pyramidal knot decorated with a red ornament. This ornament has a long shaft ending in a rhomboid-shaped blade and is reminiscent of a trowel. The hairstyle and hair ornament are typical of those found in the Turfan area, and similar spatula or trowel-shaped attributes are linked to deities associated with silk weaving (Whitfield 1985, pl. 66-2), or used as a *vajra* by the "Iranian Bodhisattva" from Dandan Uilik (Whitfield 1985, pl. 70-2) and the Gaṇeśa from Endere (Whitfield 1985, pl. 57). It is possible that these female donors were linked to the local silk trade and wore this attribute of the silk deity to show respect or to distinguish themselves from others.

Bhaiṣajyaguru, the Buddha of the Eastern Paradise, is regarded as the Supreme Divine Healer or Physician. The belief in Bhaiṣajyaguru reached China at a very early date and by the early 4th century the *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra* had been translated. The popularity of this deity in Central Asia is demonstrated by the numerous subsequent translations of this *sūtra*, the mention of his name alongside that of his counterpart Amitābha, the Buddha of the Western Paradise, in an 8th century inscription (*Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* 1966, p. 664), and several

79a

79

representations of this Buddha in paintings on banners from both Dunhuang and Turfan.

CH

Published: MIK Catalogue 1991: pp 186, 187, cat. no.130
Uhlrig, H. 1979: p. 124, cat. no. 60

References

- *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, vol. II, Ceylon, 1966, fasc. 1, p. 664
- Haesner, C. 1997: pp 393-411
- Härtel, H. and Yaldiz, M. 1982: p. 186, cat. no. 125
- Whitfield, R. 1985: pls 66-2, 70-2

80 Illustrated Manichaean Folio
摩尼教經卷
Khocho, Temple K, 8th-9th century CE
高昌，八至九世紀
Paper, H: 17.2 cm, W: 11.2 cm
MIK Collection III. 6368

The folio is painted on both sides. Three edges are partly extant but the fourth is missing.

OBVERSE (pl. 80)
This miniature painting is divided by a narrow white band on which are three lines of a Uygur text written in Sogdian script in black. On either side of this band is a row of Manichaean elects painted on a blue ground. There are four elects and part of a fifth in the upper row, and three elects and part of a fourth figure, who is not an elect, in the lower. Only parts of a golden head-dress with red fillets, the black hair, white chin and a left ear ornament remain of this fourth figure.

On each side is a tree with a long trunk and branches. According to Klimkeit, these represent the Tree of Life (Klimkeit 1986, pp 39, 43, fig. 9). The green leaves with red blossoms are spread in a semi-circle, and from the inner side of each tree hangs a bunch of red grapes. A golden bird sits on the tree on the right of the fragment. The heads of the elects are visible between the trunks of the trees. Each elect wears a white robe with a high, round, tightly-fitting collar and a tall, white cylindrical cap. All have straight black hair that falls symmetrically over the shoulders and a black moustache; all but two also have beards of various styles. Their complexion is white, but heavily tinged with pink, creating a three-dimensional effect.

They are kneeling with their hands at the edge of a low table and close to their bodies. The tables are completely covered by cloths alternately painted in blue and red. The folds close to the legs are arranged in the form of a *caturdala* floral motif. On the top of each table is either a red, gold or blue cloth and a sheet of white paper with a margin at each end. Some of the elects hold one red pen and others two, and they appear about to write on the paper. According to Le Coq, from bottom to top the text reads, "if he should believe (hold), if he should have faith in a perverse (wrong) law, if he should be an unbelieving envious person, a devotee of wrong order: [then] it is necessary ... to understand and to know" (Le Coq 1923, p. 57; Klimkeit 1986, p. 39). Since the text is more important than the paintings, which are mere decorations to the text (information provided in a personal communication by Zsuzsanna Gulacsi, who is preparing a catalogue of "Mediaeval Manichaean Art in Berlin Collections"), the folio should be horizontal rather than vertical.

80a

REVERSE (pl. 80a)
According to Le Coq, the text on the reverse written in two columns separated by a band and two thin parallel red lines, should be read from top to bottom (Le Coq 1913, pl. 5). There are five lines in red and the remains of three lines of text in black. To the right of the text are two luxuriant creepers and between them the title of the text "[The] Four Princely Gods" (Le Coq 1923, p. 57; Klimkeit 1986, p. 42, fig. 14) written in gold (according to Le Coq it is written in pale olive green; Le Coq 1913, pl. 5). The four gods are: The God, His Light, His Power and His Wisdom/Knowledge (Klimkeit 1986, p. 42, fig. 14). Green lenticular leaves, buds, and half and fully opened red blossoms decorate the climbing yellow stems of the creepers. Details on these motifs are depicted in a darker shade of the same colour. Above the creepers is a red carpet on which squats a male

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figure clad in a yellow tunic, the folds indicated by fine red lines. The man's left arm is bent and stretched to his left, while the right is also bent and placed on his chest.

Two smaller figures above the creepers kneel on a green carpet. One of them plays a lute or *oud* and the other, with covered hands, appears to be a singer. The right upper arm of a third figure is visible to the left of the *oud* player. Above these figures a similar creeper forms an arch. The figures wear long elaborate tunics with tight necks and a sash around the waist, and pants are visible through side slits in the tunics. The musician and singer have tall orange caps tied with a red ribbon under the chin, a type of headgear worn by Uygur royal personages (see Härtel and Yaldiz 1982, pp 169, 170, no. 108).

The column written in red is translated by Le Coq as: "(his) writings, the words of true light, the knowledge in the manner of Go ... many stages ... sweet law, the earth and water, the world, the body ..." (Le Coq 1923, p. 58; 1913, pl. 5). According to Le Coq, the column written in black is part of the title of a Uygur prince which, had it been intact, could perhaps have provided a clue to dating, since there were at least four kings with titles starting with the same words as those on the fragment.

CH

References

- MIK catalogue 1991: pp 176, 177, cat. no. 122
- Härtel, H. 1964: p. 20, fig. 23
- Härtel, H. and Yaldiz, M. 1982: p. 178, cat. no. 115
- Klimkeit, H. J. 1986; p. 43, figs 9, 14
- Le Coq, A. v. 1913: pl. 5
- Le Coq, A. v. 1923: pp 56-58, pl. 8ab (rev.), pl. 8bb (obv.)

81 Two Buddhist Images: Kṣitigarbha and Avalokiteśvara 地藏菩薩及觀音菩薩像

Khocho, Library K, 9th century CE
高昌，九世紀
Ramie, H: 52 cm, W: 19 cm
MIK Collection III. 6301

This is a Type A banner (see cat. no. 79). All the accessories have been lost. In the centre of the headpiece is the figure of Amitābha, seated in *dhyānāsana*, but this section is badly worn. The headpiece and the body of the banner are separated by a plain white band, below which is a canopy decorated with floral motifs.

At the edge of the stylised canopy are two Buddha figures, one standing in front of the other. They stand on the same blue pericap of a large red lotus pedestal against a round aureole combined with an oval mandorla. The figure to the front stands in *tribhaṅga* pose. His slightly drooping head is turned three-quarters to the right towards a badly worn image of a female Uygur devotee who kneels close to his feet. Another devotee is faintly visible to the left of the second Buddha image.

The right arm of the front Buddha is bent upwards at the elbow and in the right hand is a *khakkhara* – an attribute usually held by Kṣitigarbha, one of the Eight Mahābodhisattvas. In the left hand, held close to the chest, is a circular alms bowl. The deity wears the three *cīvaras* prescribed for a monk; an *antaravāsaka*, an *uttarāsaṅga* and a *saṅghāṭī*. The *cīvaras* are painted buff, blue, and buff, respectively.

The Buddha standing to the rear is in *dvibhaṅga* pose, his head turned three-quarters to the left. His left arm is bent at the elbow and stretches towards the edge of the mandorla. The right arm is covered by the figure in front and only part of the hand, with the fingers folded inward and holding the upper hem of his *saṅghāṭī*, a position often observed on images of monks and Buddha figures from Gandhāra (Ingholt 1971, pl. 7, figs 228, 422, 425), can be seen.

The complexion of these figures is light buff. Their blue conical *uṣṇīṣa* are divided into three sections, each outlined in black. Both figures have an *ūrṇā* between arched eyebrows. They have round, fleshy faces with the facial features delineated by double black lines. Their mouths, painted red and outlined in black, are exceptionally small. The hands, feet and *khakkhara* are drawn in a surprisingly crude manner.

Iconographically, this banner is highly interesting. The two figures on the obverse, one standing behind the other, are clearly separate images as can be seen from their heads, bodies and robes. The lower portion of their robes and their feet have been mistaken as common to both, and this has resulted in the interpretation of these two figures as "a double-image of the Buddha", a theme that occurs frequently in Central Asia and which was inspired by a popular legend from Gandhāra. According to this legend, when a Buddha image was executed by the painter a divine miracle would cause it to double (Le Coq 1913, text and pl. 40a). The feet of both figures can be seen in the painting; the left foot of the figure in front and the right foot of the figure to the rear. That they belong to two separate figures can be seen from the small toes, which point towards the viewer. The folds of the lower portions of their robes are also distinct and are clearly separate from each other.

Although the two figures have *uṣṇīṣa* and wear the monastic robes of a Buddha, they do not appear to be Buddhas but rather monks, representing Kṣitigarbha and Avalokiteśvara.

The *sūtra* on the original vow of Kṣitigarbha (*Dizang pusa benyuan jing*) translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by Śikṣānanda, an Indian *śramaṇa* from Khotan (Kuṣṭāna) between 695 and 700 CE, informs us of the striking resemblance between Avalokiteśvara and Kṣitigarbha, both being compassionate saviours of sentient beings (De Visser 1914, p. 12). According to this *sūtra*, Kṣitigarbha assumes many different forms – that of Brahmā, Śiva, Yama, Buddha, Bodhisattvas, Pratyekabuddhas, *Śrāvakas*, *nāgas*, demons and spirits, in order to save living beings (De Visser 1914, p. 14). De Visser also notes that "it is remarkable that he appeared in the shape of a *śrāvaka* before the Buddha. This may indicate that Kṣitigarbha ... used to be represented not only in the shape of a Bodhisattva but also in that of a priest" (De Visser 1914, p. 14). He also mentions that Kṣitigarbha carries an alms bowl in one hand, while the other is depicted in *vyākhyanāmudrā* or the gesture of teaching, "for he gives consolation and peace to all human beings" (De Visser 1914, p. 15).

The worship of Kṣitigarbha, along with that of Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya and Amitābha, became popular in China as early as the 5th

century CE (De Visser 1914, p. 20), and the Kṣitigarbha cult flourished in Central Asia in the 9th and 10th centuries (De Visser 1914, p. 22). This is demonstrated by a number of banners and block prints dated to the same period from Dunhuang and Turfan in which Kṣitigarbha is sometimes depicted in the form of a Bodhisattva, with a particular type of scarf covering his head, and at others as a monk. In both forms he holds a *khakkhara* in one hand and a flaming jewel or an alms bowl in the other.

Of the eight Mahābodhisattvas, Kṣitigarbha and Avalokiteśvara no longer remained mere attendants of the Buddha but acquired the status of primary deities in their own right.

CH

Published: MIK Catalogue 1991: p. 185, cat. no. 129
MIK 1971, 1976, 1986: cat. no. 499

References

- Bussagli, M. 1963
- De Visser, M. 1914
- Ingholt, H. 1971
- Gaulier, S. Bezard R. J. and Maillard M. 1976: pp 24-25, fig. 45
- Härtel, H. and Yaldiz M. 1982: pp 183, 184, cat. no. 121
- Le Coq, A. v. 1913: pl. 40a

82 Bust of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara
觀音半身像

Khocho, 10th-11th century CE
高昌，十至十一世紀
Silk, H: 34.5 cm, W: 27.5cm
MIK Collection III. 6166

This fragment, which is painted on one side, appears to be from a large banner. It shows a bust of a Bodhisattva against a round aureole and part of a damaged mandorla.

The Bodhisattva, turned three-quarters to his left, wears an elaborately decorated, ochre-coloured crown. The shape of the crown, which is decorated with a hatched design in fine black lines, is reminiscent of a Persian helmet (see the crowns of "Indra" in a wall painting from Balawaste: Bussagli 1963, p. 52, and that of the "Iranian Bodhisattva" from Dandan Uilik painted on a wooden tablet, Bussagli 1963, p. 57). The Bodhisattva also wears elegant ear-studs, necklaces and armlets, all their details meticulously drawn with fine black lines.

Below the Bodhisattva's crown a wavy black hairline can be seen, and near the tip of his right ear and along its edge each hair is finely depicted as in miniature paintings. The hair is blue and the locks fall symmetrically over the shoulders.

The oval, elongated face has a tapering forehead, full round cheeks and a prominent chin. The flesh-tones of the Bodhisattva are pale pink and the arched eyebrows are painted with fine black lines. The left eyebrow is extended beyond the contours of the face, a feature also observed in Buddhist paintings of the 10th-11th centuries from Alchi monastery in Ladakh, India. The forehead is also adorned with a large, white, circular *ūrṇā* outlined in red.

The nose is straight but has a shallow curve near the bridge, and its tip with hooked nostrils is shown in profile. The central area between the nostrils and his well-shaped red lips, which are outlined in black, is depicted with a tear-drop shaped line.

The part of the garment, that can be seen on the upper section of his body is reminiscent of armour and the ornamental collar close to the necklace is almost trefoil in shape. This collar, along with the shield-like portion below, is similar to the jewelled, fringed cape of crowned Buddha figures from Kashmir, Gilgit, near Chilas, and Bamiyan (Klimburg-Salter 1982, p. 29, fig. 6; p. 95, no. 9). Such a cape, together with a bejewelled crown, usually constituted royal attire.

This fragment of a banner is made of very fine silk. The surface is smooth and the ground has not been prepared. These factors, together with the quality of the line drawings and the finishing, demonstrate that this painting was produced by an outstanding artist. The decisive, bold and yet fine lines demonstrate absolute control over the brush and canvas. The intricately designed ornaments and crown also reveal the artist's familiarity with the work of a goldsmith, as well as the technique of miniature painting, as can be seen in the delicate but firm features and drapery of the Bodhisattva. The painting is among the finest in the Central Asian collection of MIK.

This painting is in the Khocho style. Its salient features are: the design of ornaments (e.g. closed palmettes, ear-ornaments with studs and U-shaped rings, lotuses on the crown and the wavy, split locks of hair falling over the shoulders), one eyebrow extending beyond the contours of the face, and a prominent chin line. Similar features are later found in Kharakhoto (Pjotrowskij 1993, nos 50, 51, 53).

The figure's attire and other features define him as a Bodhisattva. The addition of the small sun disc above the crescent moon on his crown helps to identify the image as the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. This specific form of Avalokiteśvara is believed to be derived from the Hindu god Śiva, who is named Śaśiśekhara, that is, "the one who has a moon on the crest". The sun disc symbolises Amitābha, the spiritual father of Avalokiteśvara.

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82

83 Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Virūpākṣa
持國天王及廣目天王像

Toyuk, 9th century CE
吐裕溝，九世紀
Ramie, H: 47 cm, W: 28 cm
MIK Collection III. 7305

OBVERSE (pl. 83)
This is a Type A banner (see cat. no. 79), painted on both sides. The headpiece bears traces of a figure of Amitābha seated on a red lotus in *dhyānasana* and within a round mandorla. A border-like stylised canopy divides the head from the body of the banner. Lokapāla Dhṛtarāṣṭra stands below this border, his large, round, flamboyant aureole touching the centre of the canopy. His head and legs are arched backwards and the centre of his body is pushed forward. His head and body are turned three-quarters to the right. In his left hand the Lokapāla holds a bow and the end of an arrow-shaft between the thumb and index finger of his right hand.

His hairstyle is quite different from that on Dhṛtarāṣṭra figures from Dunhuang; the black hair is tied into a high top-knot bound with a long white fillet, the knots of which are visible on either side of the head. The ends of the fillet float upwards behind his head. The figure wears a crown rather than the helmet seen on Dhṛtarāṣṭra images from Dunhuang, but the details of the design are not discernible.

His face is round and the features are strongly marked on a pale pink complexion. Each hair of his black eyebrows is distinctly drawn, and the lenticular eyes are outlined in black with red corners. The nose is shown in profile and the hairs of his straight moustache are again depicted individually. There is a scant beard below the lower lip and on his left cheek. The round chin is exaggerated by a curved black line. His left ear is small and drawn in detail.

The Lokapāla wears the outfit of a warrior, painted in gorgeous colours of red, blue, white and green. The armour, particularly that on the chest, is similar to the lacquered leather scale-armour from Miran (Whitfield 1985, 49-1 to 49-4). A long stole, blue on one side and red on the other, falls over his shoulders. He wears white pants shaded in a light red that are tied near his knees with a red cloth. The folds and other details of his garments are depicted in black lines. The space to each side of the figure is filled by a lotus.

REVERSE (pl. 83a)
The figure on this side is very similar to the Dhṛtarāṣṭra on the obverse, although it is in a better state of preservation. His head and body are turned three-quarters to the left and he wears a similar hairstyle. However, his elaborately ornamented crown differs from that on the obverse. There are two small circular red gems highlighted with white spots in the centre of the band, above which is a large white disc, divided into four sections by black lines. From the centre of this disc surges a snake with a curved hood, its lolling split tongue defined by two wavy black lines. To the right of the central disc is another disc attached to the band above the tip of the Lokapāla's right ear. It is designed like a wheel and from its centre emerges a hook-like scroll.

His wide open, crossed-eyes have red corners, and together with his pointed ears they give the figure a demonaic appearance. His expression is fierce, unlike that of the Dhṛtarāṣṭra on the obverse. His right hand is placed on his right hip, his left arm is bent and he holds a flaming jewel between the thumb and index finger of the left hand.

Both figures are drawn by a master's hand and the lines are forceful and confident. The flamboyant colours, and the meticulous detailing of the physical features and costumes are typically Uygurian. This style is frequently observed in the art of Turfan, especially in the wall paintings from Bezeklik.

The Caturmahārājikas or Four Guardian Kings (Lokapāla), although they are minor divinities, occupy a very important place in Buddhist iconography. They originated in India but became immensely popular in the art of Central Asia and the Far East. Although the origin and conception of the Four Guardian Kings are well attested to in Indian art and tradition, the Central Asian iconography appears to have derived from Dunhuang (Stein 1921, p. 870). Both in India and Central Asia they are represented in full armour, while in India they trample on *nāga* demons (Getty 1978, p. 166); in Central Asia they tread on other demons. According to Stein, the origin and the adoption of the Lokāpala in Chinese Buddhist art took place in the early Tang period (618-907).

83a

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A dated Chinese manuscript (Ch. xviii. 002, dated 890, now in the National Museum, New Delhi) appears to contain clear guidelines for the iconography and identification of these Lokapāla (Stein 1921, p. 871). The miniature paintings of Lokapāla on the folios of this manuscript show the attributes, and inscriptions on the cartouches mention the directions of the respective Lokapāla. Based on this manuscript, the figure on the obverse can be identified, but the text does not help to identify the figure on the reverse, although it is apparent that it is also a Lokapāla figure. One must turn to Indian sources for identification; Lokapāla Virūpākṣa, the King of the *nāgas* and Guardian King of the West, is usually depicted with a small shrine or a jewel and a serpent (Getty 1978, p. 166) as his attributes. The figure on this banner has a snake in his crown and holds a flaming jewel, making it very probable that this is a representation of Lokapāla Virūpākṣa.

CH

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84 Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi and Avalokiteśvara 蓮花手觀音及觀音像

Toyuk, 9th-10th centuries CE
吐裕溝，九至十世紀
Ramie, H: 49.5 cm, W: 19.3 cm
MIK Collection III. 9171

OBVERSE (pl. 84)
This is a Type A banner (see cat. no. 79) painted on both sides. The Bodhisattva stands in *dvibhaṅga* pose on a lotus, his face and body turned three-quarters to the right. Behind his head is a large aureole. He wears a red *dhoti* and holds a blue lotus in his right hand. On the headpiece at the top of the banner is a small Buddha figure seated in *dhyānāsana* against a round mandorla. The meditative posture, the mandorla with rays signifying the sun disc and the lotuses around the triangular headpiece are symbols associated with the Buddha Amitābha (Bhattacharyya, B. 1968, p. 49), the spiritual father of Avalokiteśvara and often depicted in the latter's crown. The Bodhisattva holding a red or blue lotus is named Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi (Bhattacharyya, B. 1968, pp 49, 88).

REVERSE (pl. 84a)
This Bodhisattva wears a blue *dhoti* and holds a red object in his right hand. Apart from this attribute, he is identical to the Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi described above.

The red object in the Bodhisattva's hand is shaped like a *pippala* leaf and has a white patch in the centre, probably to indicate a hole, and a handle flaring outwards near the base. The shape of this object, rather like the spades on playing cards, suggests that it is the votive *stūpa* or lamp associated with Maitreya, who usually wears a *stūpa* on his crown (Bhattacharyya, B. 1968, p. 80), but the same attribute held by Avalokiteśvara carved on the left of the Buddha in Cave 135 at Maijishan (5th-6th century) enables its identification. The *pippala* leaf-shaped object is suspended from Avalokiteśvara's middle and ring fingers with its tip pointing downwards. However, from the position of Avalokiteśvara's hand it is not clear whether or not it has a handle similar to that on this banner. According to Sullivan, the meaning of this *pippala* leaf-shaped object has not so far been determined (Sullivan 1969, p. 41, pl. 69). The same leaf-shaped object, with a pointed tip, a hole in the centre but no handle, can be seen attached to a finger of one of the thousand hands of Avalokiteśvara painted on a large silk banner from Dunhuang (9th century, Whitfield 1982, pl. 18-2). Whitfield has not commented on these attributes, but Arthur Waley describes the same painting in detail and in a list of the attributes held in the forty main hands of Avalokiteśvara he describes the *pippala* leaf-shaped object as "the jade ring" but includes a question mark (Waley 1931, p. 57, no. 12 of the left hands).

According to the translation of the text on the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara by Amoghavajra in 723 CE (Lokesh Chandra 1988, p. 48), forty arms represent a thousand arms. In each hand Avalokiteśvara holds a *dhāraṇī* that saves one from a particular misfortune when invoked (Lokesh Chandra 1988, p. 50). The jade ring is number 17 in the list of forty *dhāraṇī* mentioned by Amoghavajra (Lokesh Chandra 1988, p. 54).

The shape of the jade ring illustrated (Lokesh Chandra 1988, p. 54) is the same as the one seen in the hands of the Maijishan Avalokiteśvara (Sullivan 1969, pl. 69) and the Bodhisattva under discussion. Although in the case of the latter the ring is red. This is not unusual since the colour of jade varies according to the mineral composition (Williams 1976, p. 234), and in Chinese such jades are named according to their colour, for example, they are known as *hongyu* 紅玉 (red jade) or *feihong* 緋紅 (crimson) (Hansford 1972, p. 28).

Jade is a highly esteemed gemstone (*ratna*) in Central Asia and China. This Bodhisattva could be identified as Ratnapāṇi, although from the above discussions it would appear that the jade ring is an attribute of Avalokiteśvara. Moreover, the Buddha figure painted on both sides of the headpiece is identified as Buddha Amitābha, the spiritual father of Avalokiteśvara, and not as Ratnasaṁbhava, the spiritual father of Ratnapāṇi. In spite of the fact that the Bodhisattva in question holds a precious *ratna*, therefore, he can only be identified as Avalokiteśvara and not as Ratnapāṇi.

Both sides of the banner are painted with identical Buddha and Bodhisattva figures which were no doubt produced from the same stencil by Uygur master artists.

CH

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84a

85 Vaiśravaṇa and Virūpākṣa
多聞天王及廣目天王像

Yarkhoto (ruin, town centre)
9th-10th centuries CE
吐魯番交河，九至十世紀
Ramie, H: 26 cm, W: 25.5 cm
MIK Collection III. 7310

OBVERSE (pl. 85)
This is a Type A banner (see cat. no. 79) painted on both sides. On the headpiece are faint traces of an image of Amitābha seated in *dhyānāsana* against a combined aureole and mandorla. A bust of Vaiśravaṇa, the Lokapāla or Guardian King of the North, is also visible. To his left is a blank buff cartouche outlined in black.

The Lokapāla has spiky blue hair flaring upwards, prominent creases on the forehead and large rolling eyes below exaggerated eyebrows, all of which give him a ferocious appearance. He wears ear ornaments, armlets and bangles. A white cape is tied around his neck over his tight-fitting tunic, which is red with white spots and has white horizontal stripes on the sleeves. The sleeves end in a white frill near the elbow.

He holds a *stūpa* resembling a Tibetan *chörten* in his right hand. The *stūpa* is well made and includes all the architectural components of a *stūpa*, namely, the *medhi*, the *aṇḍa*, a *caitya*, the *stūpa* and the feather-like *chatrāvalis* surmounted by a white *trisūla*, or trident, signifying the *triratna*.

REVERSE (pl. 85a)
This bears the same painting as the obverse. Below Amitābha on the headpiece is the bust of Virūpākṣa, the Guardian King of the West. The figure is identical to that on the obverse except that Virūpākṣa holds his attribute, the sword, in his left hand diagonally across his neck so that it extends beyond the left section of his aureole. The hilt and central ridge are blue, and the blade is white outlined in black. There is a blank cartouche, outlined in black, in the upper right corner near his aureole.

The head-dresses of both Lokapāla are modelled after those of Bodhisattva figures. The crowns of Vaiśravaṇas from Dunhuang are invariably shaped like Indra's *kirīṭa*, but this is not the case with those from Turfan.

In Central Asia, Vaiśravaṇa occupies a special position, sometimes even that of a god. According to Xuanzang's travelogue, the first king of Khotan was descended from the god Vaiśravaṇa who laid the foundation of Khotan. A number of banners representing Vaiśravaṇa from both Dunhuang and Turfan show that he was one of the most popular Lokapālas.

Although the paintings on both sides of this banner are rather crude, the ferocious aspects of the Guardian Kings are skilfully shown by means of their spiky hair, the creases on the forehead and round, staring eyes. The Lokapāla are ever-vigilant in protecting the Law of the Buddha. Although the Lokapālas' expressions are well executed, the painting is not of a high standard. The lines are firm and forceful, but the dimensions are not balanced and the heads of the Lokapāla are too large for their slender bodies and their arms out of proportion. The *stūpa* and the sword are well modelled. Rather than being an example of sophisticated Tang art, this painting represents the folk art of Central Asia.

CH

85

85a

86 Hāritī 鬼子母像

Yarkhoto, 9th-10th centuries CE
交河，九至十世紀
Ramie, H: 51 cm, W: 37 cm
MIK Collection III. 6302

This is one of the best Hāritī representations found in Central Asia. It is painted on one side and shows the Buddhist deity Hāritī surrounded by her eight children and feeding a baby at her breast. She sits on a richly decorated stool. Foucher, who identified this Hāritī, writes that the very posture is reminiscent of the "Virgin Mary nursing the child Jesus". Looking "through Buddhist spectacles, we shall … recognise in it … the fairy Hāritī suckling her last born, Piṅgala, whilst some of her numerous sons are playing around her" (Foucher 1972, p. 279).

Hāritī's head has an aureole with a green field and a border of three concentric bands, green, red and yellow, each demarcated by a thin black line. A carmine scarf with scroll designs and tied by a ribbon with bows covers her head and shoulders, like that of the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha (the saviour of souls suffering in hell).

Hāritī wears black closed slippers and an orange tunic. The designs on the collar, cuffs and lower hem are the same as those on the border of her scarf. The shape and design of her tunic resemble those of dresses worn by Uygur princesses (cat. no. 75). The field of her tunic shows yellow rhombuses, each divided into four smaller rhombuses with red dots. She wears heavy ornaments. Her necklace resembles a *rudrākṣamālā* (rosary), often seen around the necks of Bodhisattvas from Dunhuang.

She supports the new-born baby with her right arm and with her left hand helps the baby to nurse. The eight plump children surrounding her are naked except for a tiny loin cloth at the front. Amulets (?) are attached to their necklaces. Some of the children play musical instruments or ball games, others carry an amphora on the head or a basket full of melons.

The details and style of this Hāritī are so similar to another from Gandhāra of the 1st-2nd centuries CE (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Lerner 1984, pp 22, 23, no. 3), embossed on a silver roundel, that it seems as if the Gandhāra Hāritī served as a model for this Hāritī.

The legend says that, although the mother of five hundred children, the demoness *yakṣiṇī* Hāritī, personifying smallpox, devoured the children of Rājagṛha. However, the Buddha converted her into a benign goddess who, henceforth, not only protected children but also blessed barren women with children.

Two famous Chinese pilgrims, Xuanzang and Yijing, travelled in "the west", i.e., ancient India, in 629-645 and 671-695 respectively. Xuanzang writes that Buddha converted Hāritī near Pushkalavati, the capital of Gandhāra (Beal 1991, pp 109, 110). Although Buddha had never been to Gandhāra, the Hāritī images in Gandhāra mentioned by Xuanzang show that she had been a popular deity there since the early Christian era. Yijing mentions that Hāritī images were to be found in every Indian monastery, and offerings were made to her. He also notes that Hāritī was worshipped by Buddhists in both India and China in his time.

Few representations of Hāritī have been found in Central Asia. A fragment of a wall painting from Dandan Uilik showing a "water-nymph" (Coomaraswamy 1965, p. 283, pl. XCIV) is identified as Hāritī-Lakṣmī (Banerjee 1970, pp 139-146). A small wooden plaque from Khocho (MIK III. 4740) seems to represent Hāritī and her spouse Pañcika (Bhattacharya 1977, p. 82, pl. 90a).

Stein identified a figure with two children on a banner from Dunhuang as that of Hāritī (Ch. l vi. 0019, Stein 1921, pl. XVII), but its delineation suggests that it is a Bodhisattva rather than Hāritī, and may represent the female Bodhisattva Guanyin who was worshipped for bestowing children to barren women. According to Getty, one of the two distinct manifestations of female forms of Guanyin possibly originates in the Indian goddess Hāritī (Getty 1978, p. 80). Guanyin acquired the title "*songzi*" ("Giver of Sons") which made her more popular than Hāritī, who lost the quality of bestowing children once Guanyin emerged in China.

CH

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87 Maṇḍala of Avalokiteśvara 觀音菩薩壇城
Murtuk (temple behind the mountain slope), 9th-10th centuries CE
穆爾圖拉克，九至十世紀
Ramie, H: 95 cm, W: 59 cm
MIK Collection III. 8559

This is a large, rectangular, Type B banner (Haesner 1997, pp 393, 395-401) painted on one side. It shows the *maṇḍala* of Avalokiteśvara arranged in three sections. On the top section is a row of ten small Buddha figures, representing the Ten Quarters and all seated on floating cloud clusters. The second section shows the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara seated in *padmāsana*. His right hand is in *vyākhyānamudrā*, and the left, holds an *amṛtakalaśa*. His head and body are depicted against an elaborately ornamented aureole.

On his right is a seated female deity and on his left a seated Bodhisattva with hands in *añjalimudrā*, both have their heads turned towards the main deity in the centre. The female deity holds a white naked child on a white lotus with red outlined petals in her left hand, a reference to the new-born souls on lotuses received by Avalokiteśvara in Paradise scenes. She points to the child with her right index finger.

Below a line of floating clouds in each of the two upper corners is a seated Bodhisattva with hands in *añjalimudrā*. Both have their heads turned towards the central figure. A Bodhisattva is also seated in each of the two lower corners of the main section. The Bodhisattva near Avalokiteśvara's right knee is turned three-quarters to his left and appears to be kneeling. His right hand is placed on his right knee, but the position of his left hand is indiscernible. The corresponding Bodhisattva holds his left wrist with his right hand close to his chest with his fingers pointing downwards.

The lower figures are larger than the rest. The Bodhisattvas are dressed in the same way as the main deity, but the female donor wears a long white dress covering her entire body, and a red cloth with horizontal stripes worn like an apron. There is a broad red band, like a sacred thread, over her right shoulder and across her body.

Between the two Bodhisattvas in the lower corners are three devotees, the indistinct kneeling figure in the centre is female and she supports Avalokiteśvara's lotus throne like Atlas (see MIK III. 4803, 7240). She is flanked by two smaller standing male devotees who may represent either her sons or attendants. Their hands are in *añjalimudrā*.

The female devotee wears a long red dress with very long sleeves that float in the air. Her hair is shaped like the wings of a butterfly and she wears a red ornament resembling a spatula or trowel (see cat. no. 79) characteristic of female Uygur donors. Her complexion is white. The two small, white male figures stand in a rocky area surrounded by water.

Below this group are six more kneeling devotees, three females on the right, and three males on the left in *añjalimudrā*. Between the female and the male devotees is a large rectangular cartouche bearing a now illegible Uygur inscription in nine black vertical lines. To the right of each male devotee is an inscription in Uygur giving their identity.

The female devotees wear typical Uygur hair styles and red spatula or trowel-shaped hair ornaments (see cat. no. 79). They wear long red dresses with tight necks and a broad white band at the front decorated with horizontal and circular motifs. The upper arms and wrists of their garments have similar bands. The male devotees wear long white gowns.

Around this banner is a broad ornamental border decorated with evenly spaced roundels outlined in red that are similar to Sasanian roundels. The details of the roundels are not discernible.

With the exception of the group of donors or devotees between the two Bodhisattvas in the lower corners of the main section of this banner, the arrangement of the painting is similar to that on banners from Dunhuang showing the *maṇḍala* of Avalokiteśvara. The female deity is very similar to Śrī Devī, the sister of Vaiśravaṇa, who is often depicted as a corresponding figure to Ṛṣi Vāsu in Dunhuang. The figures are slender and details of the ornaments are depicted in fine lines, reminiscent of a goldsmith's work.

The iconography of this banner appears complex. The central figure is identified as Avalokiteśvara on the basis of the attributes, namely; the figure of Amitābha in the crown and the *amṛtakalaśa* in his hand. He is accompanied by several Bodhisattvas. The female deity is identified by Veit as "one of Avalokiteśvara's Chinese embodiments, the so-called Baiyi (white-robed) Kuan-yin". He also comments (Härtel & Yaldiz 1982, p. 212) on the Uygur text, deciphered by Zieme, that the people named in this inscription wished to attain *nirvāṇa*. The inscription also mentions the Buddhist term *triratna*.

CH

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88 A Terrifying Arhat 羅漢像

Turfan foothills, 8th-9th centuries CE
吐魯番, 八至九世紀
Silk, H: 29 cm, W: 47.5 cm
MIK Collection III. 7241

This fragment of a banner is painted on one side. It shows the head of an *arhat* against a simple, round white aureole outlined in black. Part of the *arhat*'s shoulders and arms and part of a sketchy mountain landscape in the background are extant. His right arm and clenched fist are raised close to his head, while the left arm and fingers are extended as if he is seeking a support.

Although the head is tonsured in places, black shading suggests hair growth. The top of the head protrudes slightly, in a way similar to the Buddha's *uṣṇīṣa*, indicating the attainment of wisdom and supreme knowledge. The *arhat*'s dark brown complexion is tinged with red. The expressive facial features and body contours are defined by black lines. The wrathful nature of the *arhat* is expressed by bushy black eyebrows, wide open eyes with a tinge of red on the white eyeballs, flared, swollen nostrils, thick lips and a mouth open to reveal white teeth and a curled-back tongue, a closed fist and thrusting arm. This terrifying appearance is designed to repel the influence of evil and hostile spirits. *Arhats* are always shown dressed in a monk's robe and are invariably aged. Their expressions are also almost always defensive, tense and angry.

Only the V-shaped white collar of the *arhat*'s garment and part of the patched *saṅghāṭi* over his left shoulder and left upper arm are extant. The white ground of the *saṅghāṭi* is decorated with broad horizontal stripes in dark blue and very fine linear designs in black, similar to the *ikat* motifs found on the dresses of Bodhisattvas from Balawaste and Dunhuang.

The fine quality of the silk and the style of painting are similar to those of banners from Dunhuang. Since the surface of the silk was smooth, the artist did not prepare the ground and the initial lines were drawn directly on the surface. The boldly executed lines and well-balanced composition show great mastery of the brush. The painting is in a Chinese style, which is frequently found in Dunhuang paintings of the Tang period (618-907). The musculature of the Dharmapāla figures is delineated with sinuous lines and is anatomically correct. According to Laurence Sickman, "The form of the shoulder and outstretched left arm are admirably established by the descriptive silhouette characteristic of good Tang drawing. Solid volume is created by the thickening of the line, where accent is needed as on the crown and the back of the head, at the corner of the jaw and on the heel of the palm of the upraised fist" (Sickman 1956, p. 168, fig. 115).

The word *arhat* or *arahant* (*luohan* in Chinese) is derived from the root *arh* and is not purely Buddhist in origin – Agni is so designated in the *Ṛgveda*. In early Buddhism the term denoted someone who had gained insight into the nature of things. Later, the word *arhat* was replaced by the word *śrāvaka* (*Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* 1966, pp 41, 42, 46). The Mahāyānists accused *arhats* of selfishness, whereas Theravādins awarded them a god-like stature (*Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* 1966, p. 47). *Arhats* are the disciples of the Buddha, patrons and guardians of Buddhism. Sāriputta (Sāriputra) and Moggallana (Maudgalāyayana), the two chief disciples of the Buddha, are often represented as *arhats*. *Arhats* are said to number five hundred but can be seen in groups of sixteen and in China and often in Tibet, in groups of eighteen (Getty 1978, p. 174).

CH

Published: MIK Catalogue 1971, 1976, 1986: cat. no. 498

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88

89 A Bodhisattva in Añjalimudrā
合什菩薩像

Hasar Shahri, (west side, cella, vestibule)
9th-10th centuries CE
吐魯番, 九至十世紀
Ramie, H: 45.5 cm, W: 13 cm
MIK Collection III. 7240

OBVERSE (pl. 89)

This is a Type A banner (see cat. no. 79). Faint traces of a large peony-shaped flower are visible in the centre of the headpiece, and below the flower is a plain white band separating the headpiece from the body. The Bodhisattva, his face turned three-quarters to the right, sits in *padmāsana* on a lotus throne with his hands in *añjalimudrā*. Behind his head is a large, round, red aureole decorated with concentric bands in white and olive-green.

A section of the black hair is tied into a high top-knot with a white fillet, the knots of which are visible on either side of the head. The rest of the hair falls over his forehead and shoulders. He wears a crown decorated with rosettes and other indistinct designs. The Bodhisattva has an elongated face, a heavy round chin and there are faint traces of black eyebrows and the nose. His thick, broad lips are painted red, and his white complexion is tinged with pale pink. The face, body contours, folds of the garment and the details of the ornaments are defined in bold black lines.

89a

The Bodhisattva's upper torso is bare except for a narrow stole that passes across his body like a sacred thread. The stole is red on the outside and olive-green on the inside. A long narrow red stole also passes along his shoulders and upper arms, around the elbows and close to the knees. His red *dhoti* is tied with an olive-green sash. The ends of the sash fall symmetrically over his covered legs and touch the lotus seat.

Below the lotus seat are five female donors in two rows. In the upper row are three kneeling figures; the main donor in the centre stretching her arms upwards to support the lotus throne, flanked by two ladies with their hands, which are covered by the sleeves of their long dresses, held close to their chests. There are two figures in the lower row. The one on the right is bent backwards in an acrobatic manner with her head and hands touching the ground, while the fifth lady, barely visible in the banner, is also kneeling. With the exception of the figure in an acrobatic pose, all wear characteristic Uygur head-dresses (see cat. no. 79).

Their complexion is white tinged with pink and their lips are red. Again with the exception of the 'acrobat', all wear long, tight-fitting tunics with closed round necks and long sleeves. The colours are very indistinct and apart from some red and olive-green spots, the motifs on the garment are not discernible. The details of the folds, contours of the body and facial features are defined by bold black lines.

REVERSE (pl. 89a)

The painting on the reverse appears to be almost a replica of that on the obverse, and a stencil was probably used. While the Bodhisattvas are the same, however, there are only three donors on the reverse and they differ in size and in their features. The crown and fillet around the Bodhisattva's top-knot are better preserved on this side. Three female donors, in the same postures and dresses as those on the obverse, kneel below the lotus throne.

On the whole this banner is rather crudely painted and the facial features of the donors are not finely delineated. The elbows on

89

both Bodhisattvas are marked with a curved line in black, a feature seen on figures from the Turfan area, particularly those from Toyuk, Bezeklik and Khocho.

This painting is an example of folk art and was possibly mass produced for pilgrims or travellers who wanted to pray to the deity for a safe journey. Such careless strokes show that this banner was certainly not commissioned by the donors. The painting is similar to the *paṭacitra* of Bengal.

Since no special attribute is delineated in the painting, the identity of the Bodhisattva cannot be determined. In some cases a lotus is depicted on the coiffure rather than Amitābha. Here there is a peony, which may signify a lotus, in which case the Bodhisattvas on both sides may be identified as Avalokiteśvara. The posture of the donor figure touching the floor with her head and with the hair spread out on the floor is reminiscent of the *Dipaṅkara Jātaka*, often represented in the art of Gandhāra (Ingholt 1971, pl. 7).

CH

Reference
• Ingholt, H. 1971

90 Head of Buddha 佛陀頭像
China, Northern Wei dynasty
(386-534 CE)
中國，北魏
Dense yellowish stone,
H: 47.5 cm, W: 24 cm
The Tsui Museum of Art Collection

This is an example of the mature late Northern Wei style and it is comparable to large numbers of dated bronzes and other stone figures. The artists in the Northern Wei period favoured both stone and bronze with equal enthusiasm. In terms of the geographic reach of this style, examples may be found as far west as Maijishan in Gansu province (for example Cave 127) and as far east as the coastal province of Shandong. The only area in which there appears to have been some subtle changes to this dynastic style is in Shaanxi Province, where the drapery portrayed was in a much denser and heavier manner. However, in terms of the treatment of the face, the uniformity is striking.

By the early 6th century, sculptural style had already gone through two major stages of development. The earlier Yungang style in the second half of the 5th century was largely a continuation of the Dunhuang style, but on a colossal scale. The gradual modification of the Indo-Central Asian canon into an unmistakably Chinese style emerged in the later Yungang caves. The change was most pronounced in the pleated draperies, which developed into concentric layers of symmetrical folds. The faces took on a softer, sinicised appearance, and the large squarish heads of the early Buddhas became attenuated and distinctly oval in shape. By the time the imperial caves were opened at Longmen (*circa* 508-23), the transformation was complete.

This head has all the characteristics of the late style, with lightly articulated, slightly slanted eyes and a very gentle smile. One interesting feature is the retention of the swirls of the undulating hair, which was derived from Gandhāra. On examining 4th and early 5th century examples of Gandhāran inspired images, we can still discern the eclectic yet perfectly balanced elements of style. This eclectic trend was to continue into the following Eastern Wei period (534-550). The expressiveness of the 6th century Northern Wei style is among the most inspiring in the history of Chinese Buddhist art.

AL

References

- Akiyama, T. and Matsubara, S. 1978: pp 111-112
- Xia, M. 1998: p. 43, figs 3 and 4

91

91 Seated Figure of Buddha on a Lion Throne
獅吼佛陀像
China, 4th-5th centuries CE
中國，四至五世紀
Gilt bronze, H: 8 cm, W: 4.5 cm
Anonymous loan from a Private Collection

During the early period of Buddhist art, the Buddha seated in meditation was one of the most frequently depicted images in gilt bronze. The Buddha is seated in *dhyānāsana* with the hands in *dhyānamudrā*. This is the usual manner of representing Buddha Śākyamuni in meditation. The Buddha is seated on a regal throne guarded by a pair of lions.

The influence of Gandhāra and Mathura is clearly not far away on this image, especially in the U-shaped folds of the garment and the large *uṣṇīṣa* protruding from the top of the head. Other examples in gilt bronze of this period are even closer to Gandhāran prototypes, down to the details of the eyes and moustache. The frequency and consistency of portrayal point to a prototype believed to have been divinely inspired and supernaturally efficacious.

AL

Reference
• Munsterberg, H. 1988

92

92 Buddhist Wall Tablet Fragment
造像碑殘件
China, Eastern Wei dynasty (534-550 CE)
Inscribed "third year of Tianping (536)"
中國，東魏，天平三年（五三六年）
Black stone, H: 33.6 cm, W: 33 cm
Collection of the Art Museum, the
Chinese University of Hong Kong 98.39

The fragmentary square tablet with twelve remaining lines of inscription includes the date. Each character within a square, is characteristic of this type of tablet. There is a small recessed arched niche on the upper left quadrant with a carved relief figure of the seated Buddha, and the outer edges of the tablet are roughly hewn.

CUHK

93 Stele: Śākyamuni Triad 釋迦三尊造像碑
China, Eastern Wei dynasty (534-550 CE)
Inscribed "third year of Datong (537)"
中國，東魏，五三七年作
Limestone, H: 77.5 cm
The Cleveland Museum of Art 1914.567
Gift of the John Huntington Art and Polytechnic Trust

Inscribed: "In the third year of Datong (537), the Prince of Gaoping, whose name was Yuanning, had this stele made in remembrance of his deceased consort, *nee* Sima".

Although there is no separate biography of Yuanning in the Chinese official histories, the numerous titles included in the dedicatory inscription on the back of the stele would suggest that he was a prominent figure, one who wielded a great deal of influence in his time. These titles are both military and civilian: it is very probable that he was once the Governor of Henan province and was also Commander-in-chief of the army in that region. Yuanning later took up various positions at court; he was the Chariot and Horse General in command of the Imperial Guard, the President of the Ministry of Personnel, the Grand Guardian, the Minister of Education and the Minister of Works. Above all, as an imperial kin, he received the coveted princely title of Gaoping in 532, according to *Weishu* (History of the Wei Dynasty) (*Ershi si shi*, vol. XII, Taipei, 1967, p. 8779). However, within a couple of years, for reasons unknown, he was demoted to a duke (*Ibid.*, p. 8782), only to be restored to the princely rank again as seen in this stele inscription of 537. One suspects that this act of restoration must have taken place when the Xiaojing Emperor, the founder of the short-lived Eastern Wei regime (534-550), ascended the throne in 534. From this time onward the prince served at court in the new capital of Ye in southern Hebei province.

Madame Sima was, from the dedicatory inscription at the back of the stele, a devout Buddhist. Her husband characterized her devotion in this way: "Alive, she was very much attuned to the thought of charity. Just before her death, she was determined that she should be reborn and be at the front of (meaning to pay respect to) the Buddha". Prince Gaoping himself was no less religious. For, when making the stone statue of the Historical Buddha Śākyamuni, he also voiced the hope that "the root of sufferings be ended forever and erroneous paths will always be avoided". Not only that, he was quite aware of the fact that his own age was one when "the Golden Countenance had been dimmed" (the Buddha had passed away) and when, instead of the true *dharma*, "the Imitation Law" prevailed. That was the time when Enlightenment was becoming inceasingly difficult, and a faithful Buddhist, without the true *dharma* to guide him, sought to accumulate merits by, among other things, the making or commissioning of painted or sculpted images.

Given the influential position of Yuanning, it is without doubt that he was able to select among the best of the craftsmen in the capital Ye to carve this stone stele. The style typifies the sculptured images of the Eastern Wei, in which the Buddha displayed refined Sinic features. His pronounced hairstyle consists of a double layer of swirling patterns and he has alert, wide open eyes, a small, delicate nose and a sharp, pointed chin. Sākyamuni wears a joyful expression. By comparison, the attendant Bodhisattvas, if the surviving one at the left is any indication, are more subdued. They are also smaller in scale and seemingly suspended in the air although they are, in fact, supported by lotuses. All three figures are depicted in a completely Chinese manner, which is demonstrated most clearly by the profusion of drapery folds. The Buddha's robe forms U-shaped folds on his upper torso, which gradually become elliptical as the garment reaches the lower half of the body. The hem forms scalloped folds that end in points.

The patterns formed by the drapery nevertheless constitute only part of the overall scheme and the whole stele is a maze of curvilinear display, endlessly circulating as well as in opposition. Although the garments worn by the figures suggest a downward flow, the flame motifs coming together in the leaf-shaped mandorla lift the movement in the opposite direction. As a matter of fact, the stele is replete with curvilineal rhythms, so much so that there is not a single resting place in sight. Even the halo begins with a series of concentric circles only to form a plethora of lotus motifs at its outer edge. The lotuses support and frame the central mask that has clearly evolved from the ancient Chinese *taotie* (beast face). Everywhere one finds rhythmic flow and ebb, which reminds us that the concept of "spirit consonance and life movement" was not only applicable to contemporary painting, but was also very much alive in the realm of Buddhist sculpture The difference between the two media of course is that in painting the void is very much a part of the pictorial continuum, while in this stele, the sculptor's refusal to depart from *horror vacui* is not so much an expression of archaism, but more of a desire to attain a heightened degree of dynamic opulence and joyful optimism. Coming at the time of the Eastern Wei, a period known for its turbulence and instability, the stele was doubly reassuring as a Buddhist monument.

CJ

94 Stele Fragment with Flying Apsara
飛天造像碑
China, Eastern Wei dynasty (534-550 CE)
中國，東魏
Limestone, H: 41.5 cm
Simon Kwan Collection

The use of variegated relief is found on both stone and bronzes. This fragment would originally have been near the apex of a large leaf or flame-shaped stele. While the *apsara* flying upwards are conceived almost in the round, the volutes or scrolls representing clouds or flames are incised in a more cursory fashion. Care has been taken in delineating the visible top part of the halo, which would have had a floret or flower-head at the centre surrounded by a lush floral and foliate scroll.

Stylistically, there is a perceptible change from the elongated, linear language of the preceding Northern Wei period when such flying figures were flatter. The faces have also filled out, with fleshier cheeks and more protruding brows. The very effective manner in which the flying scarves and skirts are depicted is very much in the Northern Wei tradition of portraying the descending movement of heavenly musicians. The use of rhythmic pleats and serrated edges is particularly noteworthy in this stylistic transition. This fragment very probably comes from Shandong Province.

In terms of iconography, the reference is clearly to one of the Paradise-based *sūtras* in which heavenly maidens and musicians abound. Cave 38 at Kizil, the Cave of the Musicians, contains heavenly troupes of musicians around the walls regaling a spellbound audience. The *Lotus Sūtra* was the most influential of the early canons in expounding Paradise concepts. Dharmarakṣa's translation of this work in China in the 4th century promises the believer rebirth in "Heaven on high where a host of 84,000 'jade maidens' will come to him, making music and singing the praises of his virtues". The essence of Mahāyāna Buddhism was to multiply the chances of salvation, and in the same *sūtra*, translated by Kumārajīva in 400 CE, these 'jade maidens' had increased in number to "a hundred thousand myriad million maidens".

AL

References
• Matsubara, S. 1995: vol. 1, pp 173, 199, 232
• Chen, H. 1997: no. 13

95

95 Stele Fragment with Apsara 飛天造像碑
China, Northern Qi dynasty (550-557 CE)
中國，北齊
Micaceous marble, H: 18 cm, W: 16 cm
Collection of the University Museum and Art Gallery, The University of Hong Kong
Gift of Mr Walter Hochstader

One of the most unusual innovations of the Hebei style was the use of open-work trees to create the foliate form of stelae. As noted in association with the fragment portraying a pensive Maitreya (see cat. no. 97), these trees were very much part of the Maitreya myth.

It is particularly interesting to compare this example with the previous limestone fragment (cat. no. 94). Apart from the posture of the flying *apsara* with the jewelled garland, the latter owes little to the Wei style. The more tubular or columnar form is noticeable as is the relative lack of surface decoration on the draperies. Part of the decorative scheme on Hebei marbles was the use of jewelled swags held by the flying *apsara* and forming a kind of canopy over the heads of the main images. As noted elsewhere, the plasticity of these Hebei marbles was very effective in conveying a relief effect, and these swags provide an additional dimension to the sculptures.

AL

Reference
• Matsubara, S. 1995: vol. 2, pp 423-424

96 "Pensive" Maitreya with Two Attendants
思維彌勒佛造像碑

China, Northern Qi dynasty (550-557 CE)
Inscribed "first year of Wuping (570), 24th day of the 9th month"
中國，北齊，五七零年作
Micaceous white marble,
H: 26 cm, W: 14.5 cm
Mr and Mrs S. L. Fung Collection

One of the innovations during the Northern Qi period was the depiction of a pensive Bodhisattva representing Maitreya as the main image, rather than as a secondary or attendant figure. The pensive figure seated under a tree is a recurring secondary motif at Kizil and in the Northern Liang caves at Dunhuang dated to the 3rd and 4th centuries. The association with Maitreya is unmistakable in these contexts, since three stages in the life of Maitreya are commonly portrayed in the chapels dedicated to him. The main image is either of Maitreya as the Bodhisattva Lord of the Tuṣita Paradise (awaiting his next incarnation), or as the reigning Buddha of the Future. As the Lord of Tuṣita, he is portrayed seated in a cross-legged posture with flowing hair and princely robes and jewels. The Buddha of the Future sits with both legs pendent.

The pensive figure most probably refers to Maitreya in his last incarnation. Maitreya, like Siddhārtha before him, attained Enlightenment under the *bodhi* tree. The pensive figure represents the transition between his human guise and the final transmogrification. In the large caves dedicated to Maitreya at Yungang, the pensive figure appears once again in Caves VI, VII and VIII, but always in a biographical context and never in the form of the main image. In Cave VI, the pensive figure is shown with the horse Kaṇṭhaka kneeling below, a parallel reference to Siddhārtha in meditation before Enlightenment. In the Northern Qi period, the belief that the period of the end of Buddhist *dharma* (*mofa*) was imminent led to new themes in iconography, and among these the pensive or meditating Bodhisattva was prominent. The urgency with which Maitreya's rebirth as the Future Buddha was invoked is clear from the number of images in which it is portrayed. The large number of double images of pensive figures is also remarkable. These portrayals of pensive figures as the primary image represent the last hope for salvation, when Maitreya's rebirth would bring a new millennium of bliss and darkness would once again turn to light.

The attendant *arhats* on this composition are a common feature of Northern Qi sculptures, particularly in the Hebei area where the iconography seems to have been unique. The multiple images comprising groups of five, seven or nine as well as twin main images in this region is rarely encountered elsewhere. This applies particularly to the marble sculptures indigenous to the province (see cat. no. 97).

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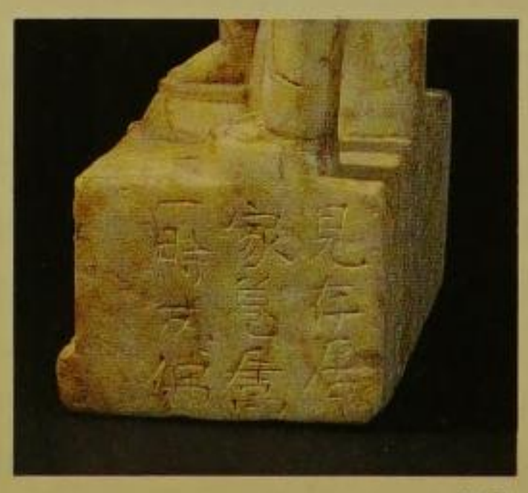
96a



96b

96c

Reference
• Matsubara, S. 1995: vol. 2, p. 391b

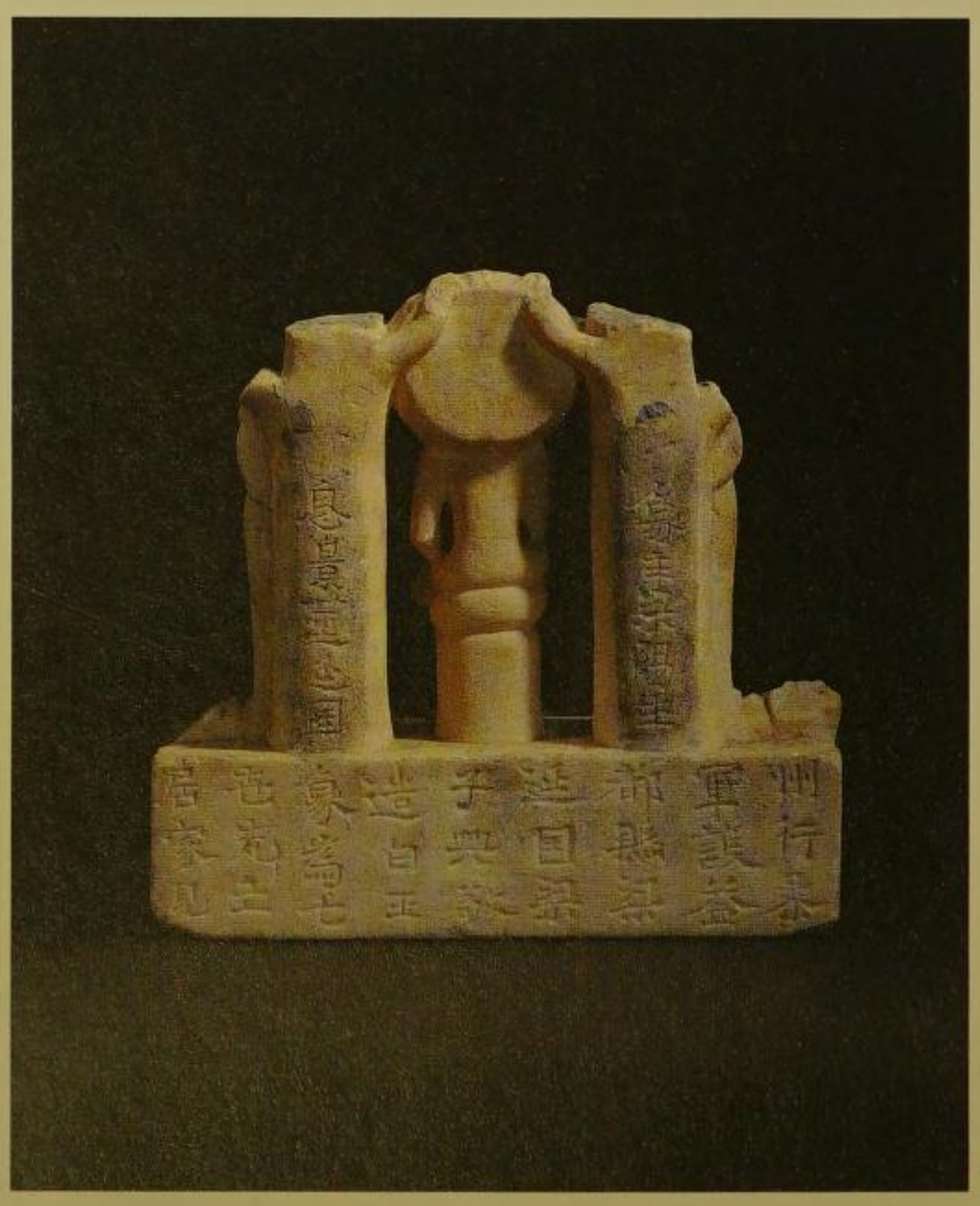
97 **"Pensive" Maitreya with Two Attendants under a Pair of Trees**
雙樹下思維彌勒佛造像碑
China, Northern Qi dynasty (550-557 CE)
inscribed "third year of Wuping (572), 7th day of the 4th month"
中國，北齊，五七二年作
Micaceous white marble,
H: 26 cm, W: 26.5 cm
The Mengdiexuan Collection

On this composition, the double trees may either represent the *bodhi* tree under which Siddhārtha and Maitreya attained Enlightenment, or the dragon tree (*longshu*) referred to in several inscriptions of the period. The latter would pertain to the Three Great Assemblies of Nāgapuṣpa described in the *Maitreyavyākaraṇa-sūtra* where the Future Buddha presides over the millennium seated beneath a dragon tree.

This iconographic theme, in which single or double main images are seated between trees with cloud-like leaves, often carved with garlands, flaming jewels or flying *apsara* flanking a central *stūpa* at the apex of the composition, was adopted in a large number of marble shrines from the Hebei area. On other versions the double trees appear at the back of the shrine or stele, sometimes with Maitreya Buddha or a pensive figure beneath them. It is less clear whether the trees actually refer to the Enlightenment or the following stage, the gathering of the Three Great Assemblies of Nāgapuṣpa.

It is fascinating to compare the various Northern Qi sculptures in this exhibition since stylistically they are so varied. As on the other marble pieces (see cat. no. 96), the figures have a basic columnar verticality, broken on the pensive figures by the extended arm and the asymmetrical posture of the legs. The columnar style is particularly characteristic of Hebei sculptures during the Northern Qi period. In this example, the near abstract articulation of the head, robes and all other details, as well as the verticality of the tree trunks and the attendants serve to enhance the remarkable simplicity of this style. The micaceous marble from this area was very effective for rendering plasticity, so that while the simplified forms could easily have appeared stiff and unyielding, these Hebei sculptures have a soft, tactile appearance and there is a sense of spiritual tranquility in the expression on their faces.

AL



97a

97b

97c

Reference
• Matsubara, S. 1995: vol. 2, pp 392b, 393a and b

98 Head of Buddha 佛陀頭像

China, Northern Qi dynasty (550-557 CE)
中國，北齊
Gilt bronze, H: 9.5 cm, W: 7.5 cm
Mr and Mrs S. L. Fung Collection

This heavily cast head would originally have belonged to a complete figure of monumental size for this period (over 60 cm in height). The facial and hair details are particularly well articulated, unlike most bronzes of the preceding period that were more frontally conceived with shallow relief.

The head most probably represents either Śākyamuni or Maitreya (the two Buddhas most popularly depicted during this turbulent period). Stylistically, it looks forward to the Sui period (581-618), but still retains elements of the late Northern Wei (471-534) and Eastern Wei (534-550) dynastic styles. Much rounder and more three-dimensional than the latter, the facial features are related to the styles of the Wei period, but have been panned out onto a wider, rounder surface. By the Sui period, such heads had become more elongated and, as a result, the expressive qualities were altered, and the spiritual quietude rather than the generous warmth characteristic of the Wei periods was accentuated.

The Northern Qi dynasty saw some of the most fascinating developments in Buddhist art and history, and over a short period of twenty-seven years new schools of Buddhist thought appeared (the Tiantai Sect, the Sect of the Three Stages and the Pure Land School). The diversity of these sects contributed greatly to a sudden broadening of iconographic depictions and the creation of new images (see cat. nos 96 and 97). This is borne out by the extremely prolific production of images in Hebei, Henan and Shandong provinces in a rich variety of styles that reflect new Chinese as well as Indian currents, and by the number of pessimistic inscriptions of the period. New stylistic inspiration entered from southern India, and strong elements of the Gupta style were adopted throughout the territory under the Northern Qi, i.e., in present-day Hebei, Henan, the eastern part of Shanxi (where Tianlongshan is located) and Shandong provinces.

AL

Reference
• Chen, H. 1997: nos 24 and 25

98

99

99 Head of Buddha 佛陀頭像
China, Northern Qi dynasty (550-557 CE)
中國，北齊
Limestone with traces of pigment, H: 25 cm
Frank Wu Ka Lun Collection

This head is yet another example of the richly varied stylistic influences from the Indian subcontinent that filtered through to north China in the mid-6th century. The style of the hair may be compared to the Sarnath Gupta school. The face, however, is one of the Northern Qi variations. Several types were prominent at this time: the more elongated and elegantly proportioned heads; a fleshier and more rounded example (as in this piece); and a slightly more Indianised version often found in Hebei marbles (in which group, along with the recent finds from Shandong, there appears to be the greatest variety).

Among the images found at Shandong are a large number with fully gilded faces and transparent drapery with extensive traces of red pigment on the robes and around the mandorlas highlighting the details in the relief. These documented finds, together with the large number of Northern Qi marble images excavated at Xiudesi in Hebei in 1954, constitute the most important body of material for the study of the prolific styles and virtuosity of the sculptors of this period.

AL

Reference
• Chen, H. 1997: nos 21 and 26

100 Head of Buddha 佛陀頭像

China, Northern Qi dynasty (550-557 CE)
中國，北齊
Limestone, H: 10 cm, W: 7.5 cm
Mr and Mrs S. L. Fung Collection

The style of this small sculpture anticipates the Tianlongshan style of the Tang dynasty (618-907). The treatment of the hair encompasses influences from both Gandhāran and Gupta art. The lower relief delineation of the eyes, brows and nose belongs to a different school to that of the gilt bronze head (cat. no. 98), and the wavy slits are also in marked contrast to the downcast, heavy lidded eyes of the previous exhibit (cat. no. 99).

During the Sui dynasty (581-618), there was a gradual harmonising into another aesthetic consisting of various elements from the disparate schools of the Northern Qi (550-557) and Northern Zhou dynasties (557-581). The schools, typified by elaborate jewellery and columnar forms, persisted but with much less variation than hitherto. In effect, the Sui was a period of integration, not only of the country, but also of the regional styles of Buddhist art.

AL

Reference
• Chen, H. 1997: nos 21 and 26

100

101 Figure of a Bodhisattva 菩薩像

China, Northern Qi dynasty (550-557 CE)
中國，北齊
Limestone, H: 60 cm
Simon Kwan Collection

Another well-known variation of the Northern Qi schools illustrates both a continuation of the Wei styles and the addition of new Indian influences. This large fragment would have been the central image on a votive stele. The face still bears strong traces of Northern and Eastern Wei features, but modified here into a greater mass. The wider, rounder surface has, however, transformed the expression, which is now more jocund than serene.

The long criss-crossed necklace is Indian inspired. Ropes of pearls have been strung together and bound by intermittent spacers. The draping of a very long, garland-like necklace over the torso, anchored at the front by a large, heavy pendant with the two ends pulled into long swags over the skirt, became formularised at this time. Scarves are twisted into similar criss-cross configurations on a number of Northern Qi Bodhisattvas. However, a bewildering variety of ornaments was used to great effect. These range from single strands of large beads, bugle-shaped or circular, to a string of richly encrusted pendants joined together with beads, although the multiple, maize-like ropes seem to have predominated. The richly ornamented necklaces and diadems serve to throw into relief the basic columnar shapes of the figures.

Generally, the drapery elements were conceived in low relief with the scarves at the sides flat, apart from the articulation of the folds. As noted elsewhere, the Northern Qi columnar style tended towards rigidity, with the appendages appearing almost incidental to the large central mass. The use of these highly elaborate ornaments breaks up the otherwise vertical appearance. These rich adornments originated in Gandhāra and Mathura, but the early Indian examples are more naturalistic and the necklaces usually fall asymmetrically. Extant monuments at Amarāvatī and Barhut are covered in festoons and heavily ornamented friezes. The Chinese adaptation of ornaments points to a style from further south, although a number of common elements, such as florets and roundels, were already widely employed at Gandhāra and Mathura.

AL

References

• Matsubara, S. 1995: vol. 2, pp 376, 477, 554

102 Votive Stele 造像碑
China, Northern Zhou dynasty
(557-581 CE)
中國，北周
Dark grey micaceous stone,
H: 146.1 cm, W: 43.25-58.4 cm
Gift of the Friends of the Art Museum
Collection of the Art Museum, the
Chinese University of Hong Kong 91.141

This is a four-sided tapering stele, which has lost its pedestal and roof. The four sides are each carved at the upper portion with a niche containing figures in high relief. The front niche has a triad consisting of the Buddha Śākyamuni in *abhayamudrā* (freedom from fear) and *dhyānāsana* (meditation), flanked by a pair of Bodhisattvas. The rear niche is carved with the Bodhisattva Maitreya in *abhayamudrā* and *varamudrā* and the *bhadrāsana* sitting posture. The flat surfaces on all four sides are finely incised with flaming nimbuses, pairs of *dvārapāla*, incense burners on lotus thrones and flanked by lions or deer, floral and leafy scrolls, monks, Bodhisattvas, and rows of donors holding lotus sprays. The incised designs are better preserved at the back and on the two sides.

Throughout the 6th century, stelae were a popular Buddhist votive form. The *mudrā* of the frontal Buddha also suggests a 6th century date. The left hand is resting on his knee, rather than held in the more usual *varamudrā* one would expect to see in earlier figures. The original pedestal to this stele, which should contain a lengthy inscription, is now lost, but the style of the rendering of the figures can be compared to a group of dated stone carvings from the second half of the 6th century found in Shanxi Province. Characteristic of this group are the "primitively carved" round faces and bodies rather than the long, slim form of the "archaic period". The treatment of the drapery still preserves the earlier style with rather angular folds. The present specimen thus represents an important example of the transitional period between the "archaic" Northern Wei and High Tang styles.

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103 Head of a Bodhisattva 菩薩頭像
China, Northern Zhou dynasty
(557-581 CE)
中國，北周
Dark limestone, H: 32 cm, W: 24 cm
Collection of the University
Museum and Art Gallery,
The University of Hong Kong
Gift of Lady Man-Kam Lo

This head represents another eccentric departure from the mainstream schools, and is notable for its adaptation of various Indian and Wei period elements. The diadem with its foliate elements is an enlarged version of a number of Wei period examples, although the foliate scrolls within the diadem and the lozenge point to a provincial origin. The hair is carved in tight spiralled curls, which is most unusual. It is more common to see horizontally carved strands, or the entire area above the hair line left uncarved.

The eyes are heavy lidded, an Indian feature found also in the various Northern Qi schools and inspired by the Gupta or other southern Indian canons. The thicker, heavier chin again points to a regional preference. The heavier bodied style found further to the west can be contrasted aesthetically with the more pleasing figures of the Northern Qi.

AL

Reference
• Matsubara, S. 1995: vol. 2, pp 367, 370

104b

104 Figure of Avalokiteśvara
觀音菩薩像
China, Northern Zhou dynasty
(557-581 CE) to Sui dynasty (581-618 CE)
中國，北周至隋代
Dense yellowish limestone-type stone
H: 64 cm, W: 20 cm
Anonymous loan from a Private Collection

This figure represents Avalokiteśvara (identified by his Nirmana Buddha in the elaborate crown). Although the hands are missing from this standing figure, they probably displayed *abhayamudrā* (allaying fear gesture) in one hand and *varamudrā* (bestowal of blessings) in the other. This is one of the most frequently encountered poses both for Buddha and later also for Bodhisattvas, especially Avalokiteśvara, once they came to be worshipped as principal deities.

In the 4th and 5th centuries, the Bodhisattva most often found as the main image at Dunhuang and Yungang was Tuṣita Maitreya. The Buddha Maitreya was equally potent as a cult deity. The cult of Avalokiteśvara gained popularity only after the Northern Wei dynasty (386-534). In earlier configurations Avalokiteśvara was mostly in a triad. Paired with Mahāsthāmaprāpta, he was one of the two supporting attendant figures flanking Amitābha. The ascendancy of Pure Land cults was a crucial factor in the success of Mahāyāna Buddhism in the period leading up to the Sui dynasty. Thus Avalokiteśvara became a vital agent of salvation, answering to all calls for his succour.

Stylistically, this figure is particularly important in illustrating the departure from the controlled columnar forms of the Northern Qi. The slightly squat body is much heavier and exhibits an early example of the *tribhaṅga* stance with a slightly swayed hip and a bent left leg. The jewelled diadem is noticeably Indian with encrusted discs and suspended tassels and the necklace has a pendant *kīrtimukha* (monster mask) reminiscent of ornaments found at Barhut. The treatment of the heavily lidded eyes, again with a strong Indian accent, recalls the figure of Avalokiteśvara from the same period in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.[1] Most fascinating of all are the draperies, which retain the rhythmic folds of the Northern Wei style, particularly at the back where the vertical pleats of the skirt contrast with the horizontal folds of the shawl around the shoulders.

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This unusual synthesis of old and new styles points to a western Chinese origin for the figure. The yellowish hued stone also has counterparts in Northern Zhou sculptures from Shaanxi Province, and a dating earlier than the Sui dynasty is made possible by the transitional elements. On Sui period sculptures in this ornamented style the draperies are usually more developed, since the mature Northern Qi and Wei styles had been integrated into a harmonised scheme. The rarity of this figure demonstrates once again the rich variety of influences at work in northern China during the short fifty-year period between the end of the Northern Wei and the Sui dynasty.

AL

1 Fontein, J. and Wu, T., *Unearthing China's Past*. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1973, pp 152-3, no. 73.

Reference

• Matsubara, S. 1995; vol. 2, pp 349-350, 370, 375, 523-525

105 Two Bodhisattvas 菩薩像一對
China, Northern Qi dynasty (550-557 CE)
to Sui dynasty (581-618 CE)
中國，北齊至隋代
Pottery, H: 23.5 cm, W: 6.5 cm
Anonymous loan from a Private Collection

Pottery votive figures were made in moulds, and several examples are inscribed with Northern Qi or Sui dates. Made from white clay, they conform to excavated figures found at Boxing in Shandong Province. A similar figure in the Museum of East Asian Art in Bath is dated 563, and another, published by Saburō Matsubara, is dated 603. Originally they would have been painted with bright pigments, including red and gold, traces of which are often found on similar pottery votive figures from the same period. The moulds would very probably have been based on an original stone or pottery prototype in a similar stance, and dressed in the same combination of aproned skirts with diadems of similar style. However, the present figures differ: they have beaded necklaces and the left hands are held towards the centre, rather than hanging at the sides, and hold what appears to be a *cintāmaṇi*. The right hands are held outwards in *abhayamudrā*.

The expressive qualities of these moulded votive figures (probably made in large numbers and from the same kiln) have an air of serenity and calmness. In most cases, they wear garland-style necklaces of a criss-cross formation – a new Indian inspiration. The consistency of this style, one of the most easily identifiable of the Northern Qi schools which continued into the Sui period, is remarkable. It relates to large stone sculptures in this rigidly columnar style in which the limbs appear very much part of the main plastic mass of the body, and the decorative folds or pleats of the draperies appear as surface decoration or projections from the central core.

AL

References

- Chen, H. 1997: no. 61
- McElney, B. S. 1993: pp 58-59, no. 22
- Matsubara, S. 1995: vol. 2, pp 536 b, 541, 571 b and c

105

106 Tablet with Buddhist Triad 三尊造像碑

China, Sui dynasty (581-618 CE)
Inscribed "fifth year of Kaihuang (585)"
中國，隋代，五八五年作
White marble, H: 54.5 cm, W: 64 cm
Anonymous loan from a Private Collection

The composition of this tablet is exceptionally detailed, and each of the edges has been completely carved with foliate scrolls with buds. The inscription is on the edge of the left-hand side of the border, an unusual position. It mentions the donor (Zuo Qingheng) as well as a place name, Hedong, and the commissioning of a "white jade" (marble) Buddha image. On the reverse is one *juan* (fascicle) of the Tantric *Dhāraṇī* incantation inscribed in regular script (*kaishu*). Both Bodhisattvas have elaborate fly whisks made of what appear to be leafy fronds, which is also unusual. The main Buddha is prominent with the lower part of the body in pronounced relief.

The very rare form of this piece and its decorative style suggest that it very probably originated in one of the southern provinces. Although there are similarities to the mainstream schools of the north, particularly in the jewellery of the Bodhisattvas, the prominent triangular silhouettes of the figures are markedly different. The manner in which the three lotuses emerge from an undulating stem recalls the later western style of a famous group of Tang seated Bodhisattvas at the Forest of Stelae Museum in Xi'an. At the sides, in lower relief, are two scrolling stems with lower relief lotuses.

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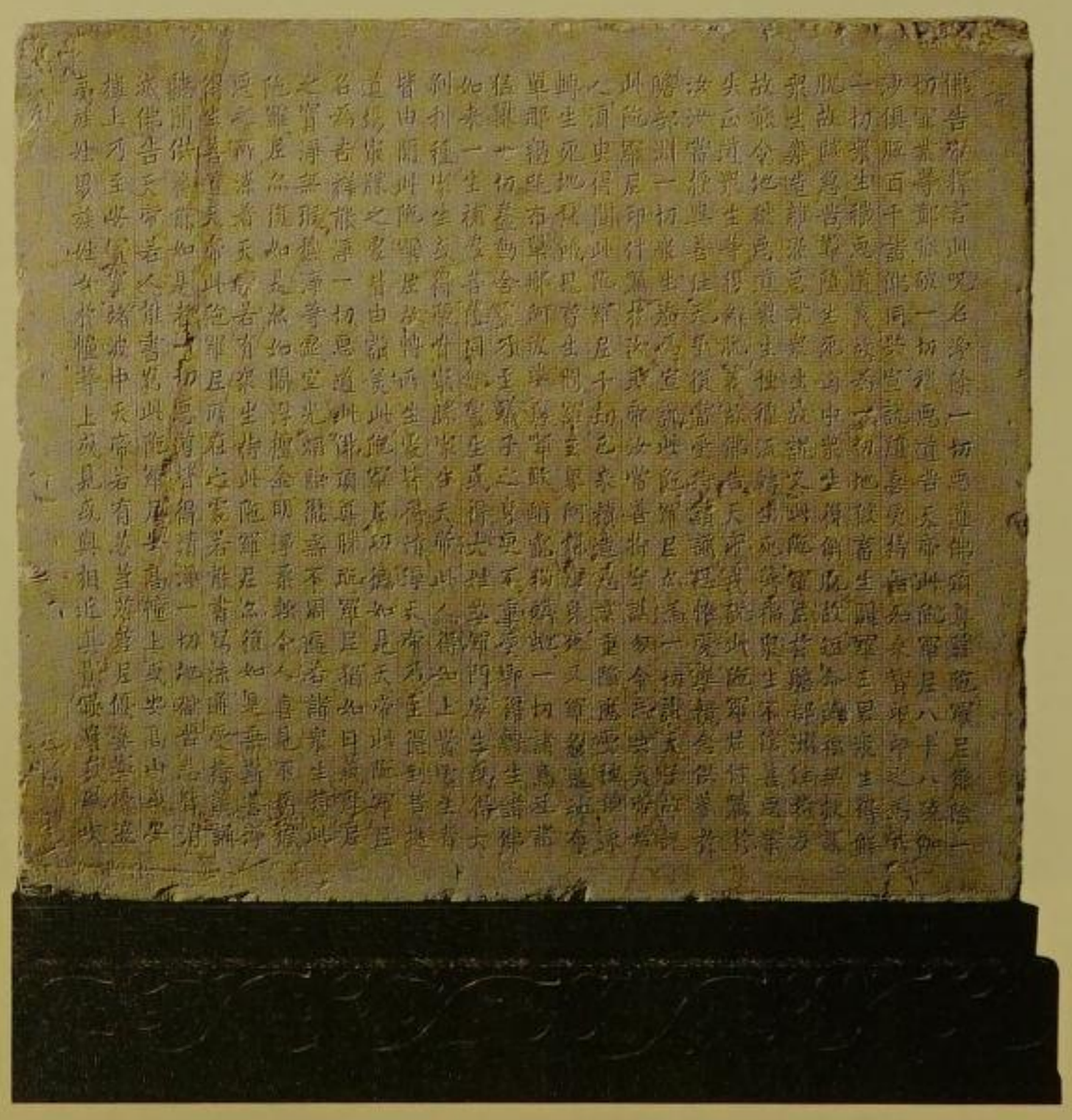
106a



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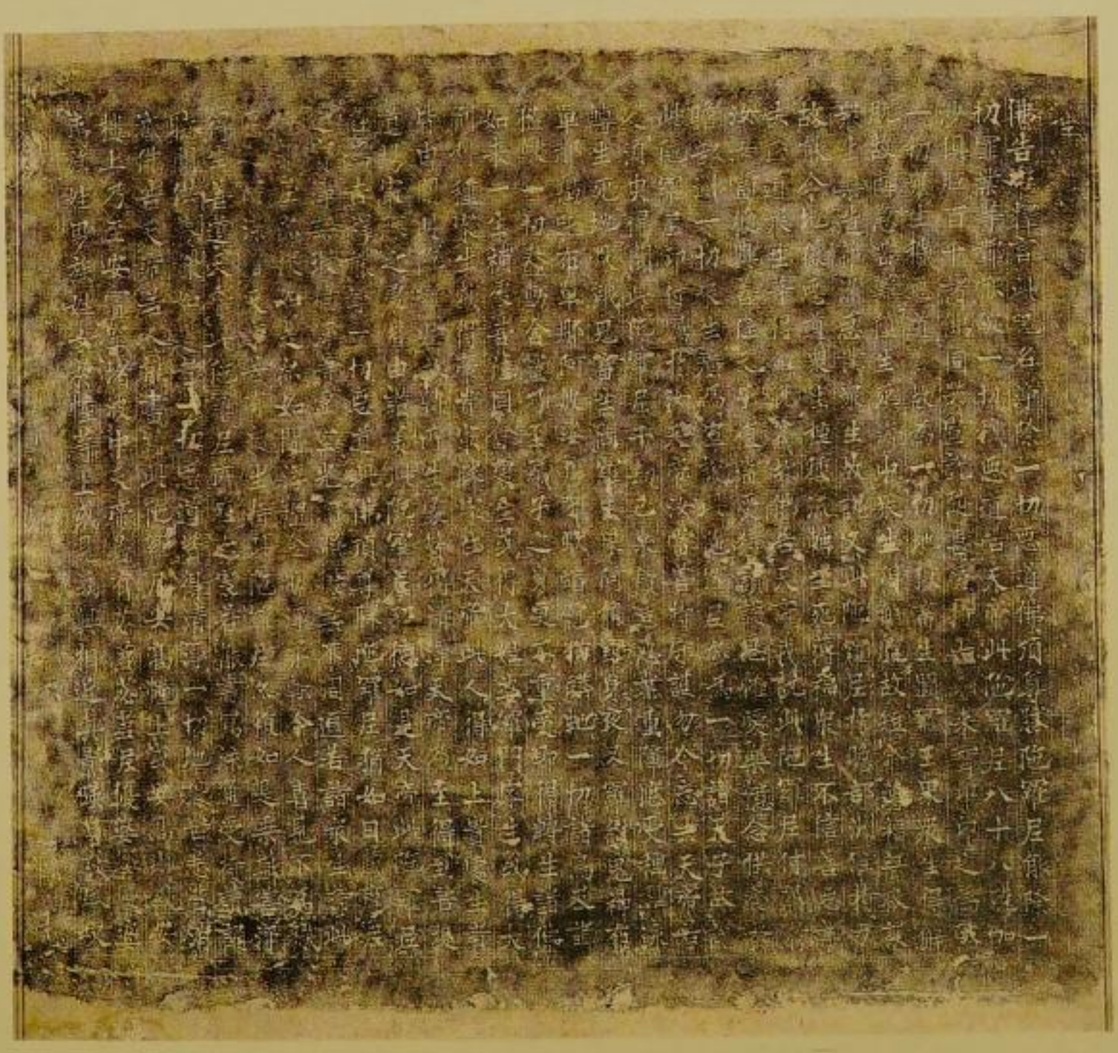
106d



107 Seated Buddha 佛陀坐像

China, Sui dynasty (589-618 CE)
中國，隋代
Limestone, H: 51.4 cm
The Cleveland Museum of Art 1964.152
John L. Severance Fund

Seated on a two-tiered lotus throne that has a constricted cylinder in between, the Buddha assumes the *abhayamudrā* and *varamudrā*. While the latter *mudrā* is easily recognisable, the former appears rather casual, almost as if the Buddha is about to open, or close his hand.

The simplicity of this statue is quite apparent, from the plain, leaf-shaped mandorla featuring three figures seated on lotus flowers, to the two-tiered lotus throne. The hair segment is also unmarked and there are no curls. The round contours of the face enclose the broad arc of the eyebrows, the half-closed eyes and a slightly upturned mouth suggesting a faint smile. The drapery is noted by a graduated series of sharp ridges alternating with furrows flowing across the body from the lower left arm to the right knee where the direction is reversed. At the hem the folds form a series of curves that do not quite cover the lotus throne as was the case in earlier and later images. In dramatic contrast to the Eastern Wei stele (cat. no. 93), also in The Cleveland Museum of Art, this is a work without much ornamentation. As a result, there is as great a sense of clear, tangible definition as of openness, which demonstrates that it was made in a very different age, i.e., the Sui dynasty.

This modest statue of the Buddha was one of the foci in a masterful article by Wai-kam Ho, formerly the curator of Chinese art at The Cleveland Museum of Art.[1] In that article, he points out the stylistic affiliations of this work with the Hebei-Shandong tradition of Buddhist sculpture, in particular that of the Shandong region. Of pertinence are the presence of only three Nirmāṇa Buddhas in the Buddha's halo, and the treatment of the drapery folds and the hem. Of particular relevance is Ho's insight into the broad movement of Buddhist art from China to Japan, in which this sculpture may be seen as a link in the chain, if not exactly a source of influence, during this historical development.

Regarding the identity of the Buddha, Ho settles on Sākyamuni as the most probable, even though he has also gone through an extended argument on the probability of it being an iconic representation of Amitābha, the Buddha of Infinite Light and also of Infinite Life. In fact, based on the same line of argument that he has persued, one could also come to the conclusion that the figure has to be Amitābha. Of critical importance is the recognition that these so-called 'Nirmāṇa Buddhas' may not be Buddhas at all, since they have no haloes. These figures, seated on top of and to the side of the main image on lotuses, which appear as if they were growing from a common stem, certainly remind one of the mythology of the Western Paradise, where the faithful are being reborn to enjoy the blessings of Amitābha.

In summary, this simple and humble icon is much more than the sum of its individual parts. It evokes the Western Paradise without its full representation, and innumerable souls are suggested by the inclusion of a mere three, the figure three in Chinese signifying a multitude. By virtue of this expansion, this sculpture speaks forcefully and synoptically. Its casual repose notwithstanding, the statue is, as Wai-kam Ho has so eloquently stated, "a small masterwork of a strikingly moving quality which is profoundly spiritual ...".

CJ

1 Ho, Wai-kam, "Notes on Chinese Sculpture from Norhtern Ch'i to Sui: Part I: Two Seated Stone Buddhas in the Cleveland Museum," *Archives of Asian Art*, Vol. XXII (1968-1969), pp 7-55.

108 Head of a Buddha 佛陀頭像

China, Tang dynasty (618-907 CE)
中國，唐代
Stucco and stone, H: 37cm, W: 24 cm
Collection of the University
Museum and Art Gallery,
The University of Hong Kong
Gift of Dr Simon Kwan

Chinese civilisation reached the peak of its political and military prowess during the Tang dynasty. The Tang was also the most open era in Chinese history and active exchanges with the west produced an extremely rich culture. During the 7th century, monks, traders and envoys from China and Central Asian countries plied the Silk Road, bringing foreign goods and Buddhist practices into China.[1] Chinese pilgrim monks going west, for example, Xuanzang,[2] were also eager to bring back auspicious images for religious purposes. As a result of such interactions, Tang Buddhist sculpture attained a high level of synthesis, combining the developed Chinese style with the vigour of Central Asian and Indian styles. This style is described by Sirén as the most mature of the Chinese sculptural arts.[3]

This maturity of style can be seen in this head of a Buddha. The head is carved in stone but moulded over with a layer of stucco. Much of the stucco moulding around the back of the head is now missing. From the exposed back it can be seen that the hair originally consisted of many locks curled in an anticlockwise direction and rising to form a low conical *uṣṇīṣa*. A large proportion of this curling pattern is now lost, particularly at the back of the head. Set in the centre of the *uṣṇīṣa* is a large *ūrṇā*. The exposed ears are carved in deep relief. The earlobes, which would have been extended, are damaged. The face is covered with stucco, and the hair is thickly moulded on top of the stucco and painted black.

The *ūrṇā* in the forehead is protracted between the eyebrows, which arch over slightly open eyes with clearly defined pupils. The nose is relatively straight and imparts a sense of monumentality to the face, while the small mouth wears a serene smile. The stucco thins off near the lower half of the full, rounded cheeks. The first of the three folds of the neck is still visible. This head is a good example of the Tang dynasty synthesis of realistic and idealistic styles; while the face is realistically proportioned, it bears the idealised smile suggesting the Enlightenment of the Buddha.

PPH

1 See Schafer, Edward H., *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of Tang Exotics*, 1963, pp 265-68 for a description of the trading of sacred and secular goods during the Tang dynasty.
2 See a biography of Xuanzang in Wriggins, Sally Hovey, *Xuanzang: A Buddhist Pilgrim on the Silk Road*, 1996.
3 Sirén, Osvald, *Chinese Sculpture: From the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century*, 1925, pp xcii-cx.

References

- Chan, C. K. 1989: no. 48
- Matsubara, S. 1995: vol. 3, pp 620, 622b and 714
- Sirén, O. 1925: pl. 369

109 Buddha Śākyamuni, Seated
釋迦牟尼佛坐像
China, early Tang dynasty (*c.* 618-649 CE)
中國，唐代早期
Gilt bronze, H: 8 cm
Mr and Mrs S. L. Fung Collection

Small, gilt-bronze Buddhist figures were popular in China from the 4th century onwards (see an early example in cat. no. 91). The form was transmitted to Korea and Japan in the 6th century, and continued to find favour in China during the Tang dynasty. The images could be cast as a group and include the major Mahāyāna figures – the Buddha, Bodhisattvas, disciples and *vajrapāṇi*. Such images were probably used on an altar in the home. Individual images of the Buddha or Bodhisattvas were also frequently cast in China. The making of these images was mainly to pray for a better rebirth for the deceased, as a means of accumulating merit and as offerings to the Buddha.[1] The Buddha was most widely represented in such images, particularly the Historical Buddha, Śākyamuni; the Buddha of the Western Pure Land, Amitābha; and the Future Buddha, Maitreya.

This Buddha image is finely executed in the early Tang style and has a rounded form. There is an *ūrṇā* at the bottom of the *uṣṇīṣa*, and rays of light cut into the hair radiate outwards. The hair is defined by rows of incised cuts. The face bears a solemn expression. The slim body is thinly clad in a monk's robe that leaves the right shoulder bare. The inner garment is scored to distinguish it from the smooth outer garment, which falls realistically over the right shoulder. The garment clings to the body and the form of the legs is clearly visible. This is a standard form of expression found in the early Tang period. The right hand is raised in the *abhayamudrā* and the left hand rests on the left knee in an upturned, open gesture, most probably a variant of the *varamudrā*.[2] The figure sits in the *bhadrāsana* pose with the bare feet resting firmly on a pair of lotus pods. The form of the original seat is uncertain, but the robe hangs over the seat in a beautiful wavy line, a feature of the Northern and Southern dynasties style that was carried on into the Tang.

PPH

1 See Tokyo National Museum, 1987, pp 11-12.
2 See Matsubara, S., 1995, vol. 3, p. 709c.

References

- Matsubara, S. 1995: vol. 3, p. 709c
- Tokyo National Museum, 1987: nos 168-169
- The Museum Yamato Bunkakan, 1992: nos 66-67
- Spencer, J. 1993: no. 1

109

110 Bodhisattva, Standing 菩薩立像

China, early Tang dynasty (*c.* 618-649 CE)
中國，唐代早期
Gilt bronze, H: 13.5 cm
Mr and Mrs S. L. Fung Collection

Tang dynasty bronze images are renowned for their beautiful ornamentation. The attention to detail and sumptuousness of presentation can be seen most clearly in Bodhisattva images. These two standing Bodhisattvas (see also cat. no. 111) are good examples of the sense of proportion and sensuousness of the early Tang period,[1] and the Indian influences that appeared at this time. The narrow waist, *tribhaṅga* (S-curved) body, and the complex ornamentation are all representative of an Indian sculptural style. As Sirén points out, "the best of them [Tang Bodhisattvas] are, indeed, highly accomplished and elegant representatives of the Indian Bodhisattva ideal" (Sirén 1925, p. vciii).

This Bodhisattva has the high coiffure typical of the period with the hair formed into a topknot; with a beautiful movement the hair curves upwards at the sides and sweeps down in the centre. The figure wears a beaded necklace with a pendant hanging vertically to the waist. A scarf attached to the back of the neck terminates at the bottom of the lotus stand. On the right hand the Bodhisattva holds a *kalaśa* (ambrosia vase) in which is a long-stemmed lotus flower that reaches to the shoulder. On the raised left hand the Bodhisattva holds a willow branch. The body is slightly bent at the waist, forming the *tribhaṅga* curve. The lower garment, or *dhoti*, folds up around the waist and clings to the legs. The Bodhisattva has bare feet and stands on a lotus pedestal, which in turn is placed on a high plinth with tapered feet. The front of the plinth is shaped as a lotus petal in the typical Tang fashion.

The *kalaśa* is an important symbol of both Mahāyāna and Tantric Buddhism. It indicates the pure *bodhi* mind of sentient beings that can be opened when the willow branch is used to spray them with the water of wisdom contained in the vase. The flower in the vase is an expression of the blossoming of the various forms of wisdom.[2] These attributes correspond to the role of the Bodhisattva as the saviour of sentient beings from danger, a helper in an uncertain life, and as a guide to Enlightenment.

PPH

1 Tokyo National Museum 1987, pp 13-15.
2 See *Foguang dacidian* (Dictionary of the Buddha Light) 1989, p. 6757.

References

• Tokyo National Museum 1987: no. 170
• Spencer, J. 1993: no. 29

110

111 Bodhisattva, Standing 菩薩立像

China, early Tang dynasty (618-907 CE)
中國，唐代早期
Gilt bronze, H: 10 cm
Mr and Mrs S. L. Fung Collection

Like the previous example (cat. no. 110), this image manifests the early Tang preoccupation with fine detail in the decoration of Bodhisattvas. The hair is formed into a high coiffure with a *cintāmaṇi* (precious jewel) set above the forehead and an image of Amitābha Buddha on top of the head. Hair ornaments in the form of a scarf flow sensuously down both sides of the head. Behind the head is an open-work nimbus, half of which has broken off. The remaining section indicates that the nimbus is composed of a beaded inner ring and an outer ring consisting of flames. The Bodhisattva wears a plain semi-circular necklace that hangs over the chest with a beaded ornament hanging to the bottom of the lotus stand. The beaded chain ornament is gathered at the protruding stomach. A simple robe clings to the legs. The figure is bare-footed and stands on a lotus pedestal which in turn rests on a three-tiered Sumeru base. On the raised right hand the Bodhisattva holds a willow branch and on the left hand a *kalaśa*. Judging by the Amitābha Buddha image in the hair, this image represents the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.

PPH

References

- Matsubara, S. 1995: vol. 3, p. 701
- Tokyo National Museum, 1987: no. 171
- Spencer, J. 1993: no. 28

111

112

112 A Pair of Attendant Bodhisattva Figures
菩薩侍從像一對
China, Tang dynasty (618-907 CE)
中國，唐代
Gilt bronze, H: 5.5 cm
Mr and Mrs S. L. Fung Collection

These small Bodhisattvas represent attendants serving the needs of the Buddha. The crowns of both attendants contain a Buddha figure. In the left hand of one Bodhisattva is a *kalaśa* and in the right hand of the other is a willow branch. One of the Bodhisattvas is seated on the right foot which rests on the lotus seat. Both figures look upwards as if gazing at the main Buddha figure. Such figures may be paired or grouped in greater numbers. Although these figures are adjuncts to major statues, they nevertheless add a sense of scale and hierarchy to assemblies of figures dominated by the Buddha and his major Bodhisattvas.

PPH

References

• The Museum Yamato Bunkakan, 1992: no. 81
• Spencer, J. 1993: no. 70

113 Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara Holding a Kalaśa, Standing 持淨瓶觀音菩薩像

China, Tang dynasty (618-907 CE)
中國，唐代
Stone, H: 61 cm
Simon Kwan Collection

The Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara was immensely popular in the Tang dynasty. The earliest form of belief in Avalokiteśvara has its scriptural basis in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (*Lotus Sūtra*), first translated in 286. The name of the Bodhisattva expresses his perceived role as the lord of mercy and compassion. Avalokiteśvara is said to observe the world closely and to rescue all sentient beings in distress and danger. For this reason, the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara had many manifestations, particularly from the 6th century onwards when Tantric Buddhism gained ascendancy in China. In the Pure Land *sūtras*, Avalokiteśvara is regarded as an agent of salvation who would personally welcome the deceased into the Western Pure Land presided over by Buddha Amītabha, Avalokiteśvara's Dhyāni-buddha. Representations of the Bodhisattva multiplied as the Pure Land School gained in popularity during the Tang period.[1]

Tang depictions of Avalokiteśvara, both in painting and sculpture, aptly express his dual aspects: as both belonging to and detached from this world. The Bodhisattva closely watches this world, the object of his compassion, but at the same time is supramundane in his power to save. During the powerful and opulent Tang period, images of Avalokiteśvara were often very ornately decorated, and represented him as a sumptuously dressed prince of this world. On the other hand, as the Lord of Mercy, he is often shown with a compassionate and ephemeral facial expression. The skillful combination of these two seemingly irreconcilable qualities of Avalokiteśvara can be seen in this figure, a monumental achievement of the High Tang (*circa* 649-755) sculptural arts.

The Bodhisattva has a high coiffure and a garland around the forehead. The hair is tied to form a double-topped chignon that sweeps backwards. Crowning the hair is a diadem decorated with garlands and floral ornaments. In the centre of the diadem is an *ūrṇā* in which was probably placed an image of Amitābha Buddha, now missing except for the back panel. The full, rounded face is typical of the High Tang sculptural arts. The very faint eyebrows arch gracefully over the half-opened eyes. The columnar nose, pouting mouth and projecting chin give the face a regal appearance. A lock of hair or an ornamental strip crosses the centre of the elongated ears. The head is supported by an elegant neck with three folds. The right arm is now missing, but the right hand probably originally held a willow branch. A few strands of hair fall over the left shoulder. There is an arm band on the left upper arm and the left hand holds a *kalaśa*.

The Bodhisattva wears elaborate jewellery consisting of a large necklace with floral ornaments and beaded chains hanging in front of the chest. On the stomach the chains cross through a medallion composed of a flower surrounded by two rings. A flowing scarf encircles the back of the neck and falls over the jewellery, enhancing the ornamented quality of the sculpture. The slight twist at the centre of the lower scarf creates an interesting juxtaposition with the beaded jewellery and the garland. A shawl with low relief folds crosses the chest diagonally exposing the right nipple. The high-waisted *dhoti* folds over just underneath the jewelled medallion. The garment covers both legs in deeply incised folds. The feet are missing. The figure has a slight *tribhaṅga* (S-shaped curve) and a slightly protruding belly, which create a sensuous dynamic reinforcing the Bodhisattva's position between two worlds.

PPH

1 See Soper, Alexander Coburn, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China*, 1959, pp 150-167 for the development of the cult of the Bodhisattva in the west and China prior to the Tang dynasty. See also Seckel, Dietrich, *Buddhist Art of East Asia*, Ulrich Mammitzsch, trans., 1989, pp 28-29.

References
• Sirén, O. 1959: p. 134, no. 49
• Chan, C. K. 1989: no. 52

114 Lokapāla 天王俑

China, Tang dynasty, 8th century CE
中國，唐代，八世紀
Painted pottery, H: 62.8 cm
The Tsui Museum of Art Collection

With the almost total acceptance of Buddhism into Tang society, many Buddhist practices, including funerary practices, were also adopted. The concept of spirits guarding the abode of the deceased in the after-life was not new to Chinese society, but the adoption of Buddhist figures as tomb guardians was a Tang dynasty innovation. These guardian figures commonly take the form of a beast or a *lokapāla*, a Buddhist heavenly king who is said to guard Mount Sumeru. There are four guardian kings, each of which oversees one cardinal direction. These auspicious deities are also charged with protecting the Buddha law, and are often represented in paintings and sculptures in Buddhist monasteries. Images of *lokapāla* were also placed in tombs to protect the spirit of the deceased.

During the Tang dynasty, *lokapāla* figures were usually modelled in ceramic and either decorated with a tri-colour (*sancai*) glaze or painted, as in this magnificent example. The ferocious guardian king stands erect on the belly and head of a recumbent figure. He wears a fantastic phoenix-like headpiece with a spread tail painted in green and orange to simulate feathers. The full, rectangular face has an intense gaze that expresses the guardian's bold, fearless character. His body is clad in full armour which includes a winged collar, breast and belly plates, and protective arm and leg pieces. The painted lines clearly indicate the function of each separate piece. The whole assembly is supported on a rocky pedestal.

PPH

References

- Schloss, E. 1977: p. 7, fig. 7
- *The Silk Road: Treasures of Tang China*, 1991: pp 91-95

115 Manuscript of Mahāprajñāparāmitāsūtra
大般若波羅蜜多經寫本

China, 10th century CE
中國，唐代，十世紀
Handscroll, ink on paper
Collection of the University Museum and Art Gallery, The University of Hong Kong
Permanent loan from the Royal Asiatic Society, HK Branch

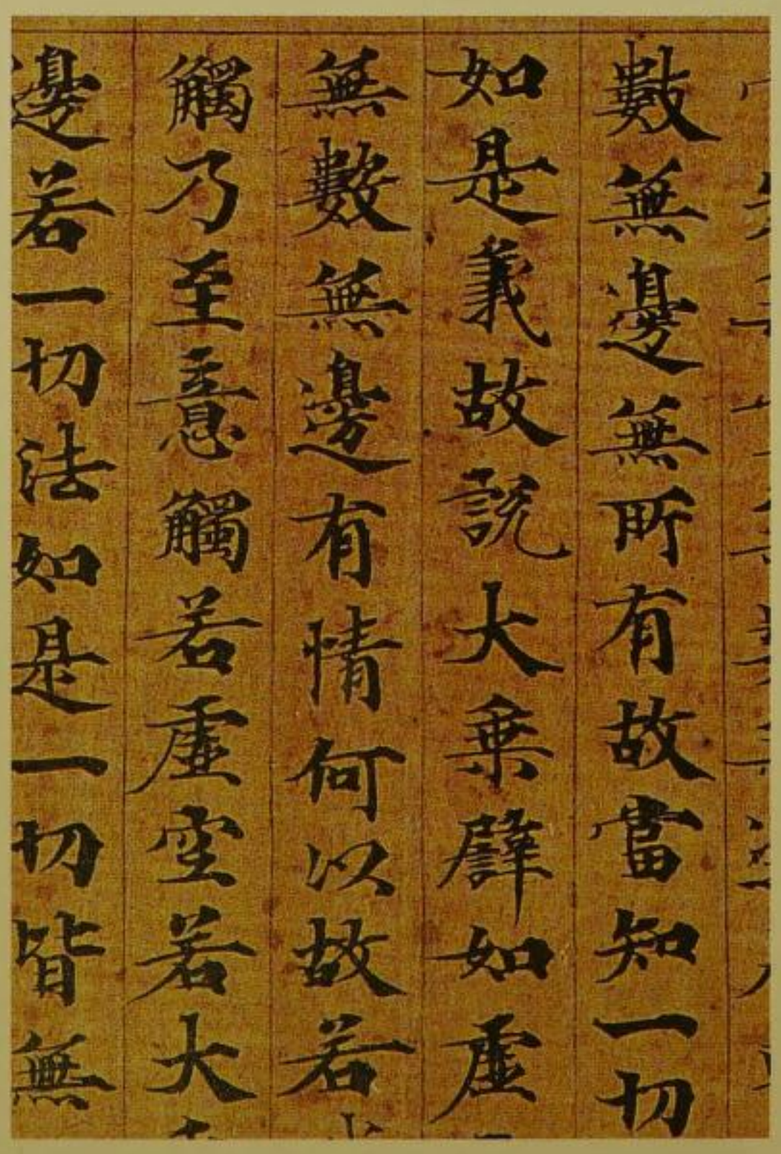
The Tang dynasty witnessed enthusiastic efforts to translate Buddhist *sūtras*. In addition to translating *sūtras* newly brought from India, those previously translated into Chinese by Indian and Central Asian monks were retranslated, usually with the addition of sections newly acquired from India. This massive task was actively sponsored by the state and the *saṅgha* in an effort to provide accurate translations for the Chinese. This scroll bears part of the *Mahāprajñāparāmitāsūtra* translated by the monk Xuanzang on the orders of the Emperor Gaozong (r. 649-83). The translation is said to have been prompted by the desire to provide a full Chinese version of the *sūtra*, since previous translations were too abbreviated. A total of 600 *juan* (fascicles) were translated between 660 and 663. The project was completed just before the death of the great monk[1] and the emperor was asked to provide a preface to the translation.

The *Mahāprajñāparāmitāsūtra* is a major scripture of the Mādhyamika school of Buddhism, founded by the great Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna (*circa* 100-200 BCE). Xuanzang was fascinated by this great teacher and took a copy of the *sūtra* back to China. The *sūtra* describes how, through true wisdom, one may realise the emptiness of this world and so achieve Enlightenment. The first section of *juan* 494 is written in *kaishu* (regular script) on this scroll in a total of 24 lines of 17 characters each. This scroll must have come from Cave 17 at the Dunhuang grottoes where a treasure trove of manuscripts and paintings was found in 1900. A similar fragment of *juan* 119 from the same *sūtra*, with a frontispiece, is now kept at the British Library. Copying *sūtras*, particularly important *sūtras* such as this one, is primarily a way of gaining of merit.

PPH

1 This episode is recorded in *Da Tang gu Sanzhang Xuanzang Fashi xingzhuang* (The Account of the Tripitaka and the Dharma Master Xuanzang of the Great Tang), written by Mingxiang in 664. See *Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo*, 50: 218c.24-219a.4.

115a



Reference
• Tokyo National Museum, 1996: nos 99, 100

大般若波羅蜜多經卷第四百九十四　三藏法師玄奘奉　詔譯

第三分善現品第三之十三

復次善現我乃至見者無所有故當知眼識
界乃至意識界展轉亦無所有眼識界乃至
意識界無所有故當知虛空亦無所有虛空
無所有故當知大乘亦無所有大乘無所有
故當知無量無數無邊展轉亦無所有無量
無數無邊無所有故當知一切法亦無所有
由如是義故說大乘譬如虛空普能容受無
量無數無邊有情何以故若我乃至見者若
眼識界乃至意識界若虛空若大乘若無量
無數無邊若一切法如是一切皆無所有不
可得故復次善現我乃至見者無所有故當
知眼觸乃至意觸展轉亦無所有眼觸乃至
意觸無所有故當知虛空亦無所有虛空無
所有故當知大乘亦無所有大乘無所有故
當知無量無數無邊展轉亦無所有無量無
數無邊無所有故當知一切法亦無所有由
如是義故說大乘譬如虛空普能容受無量
無數無邊有情何以故若我乃至見者若眼
觸乃至意觸若虛空若大乘若無量無數無
邊若一切法如是一切皆無所有不可得故
復次善現我乃至見者無所有故當知眼觸
為緣所生諸受乃至意觸為緣所生諸受展
轉亦無所有眼觸為緣所生諸受乃至意觸
為緣所生諸受無所有故當知虛空亦無所

116 Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara 觀音菩薩像

China, Liao dynasty (916-1125 CE)
中國，遼代
Gilt bronze, H: 46.2 cm
Anonymous loan from a Private Collection

The Liao dynasty culture, established by the Qitan Tartar in north China, is said to preserve many aspects of Tang culture. This includes the Buddhist art, described by Gridley as a continuation of Tang style "with no slackening of aesthetic sensibility" (Gridley 1985, p. 2). Under the patronage of the Liao imperial household, Buddhist establishments flourished, and Buddhist art was renewed. Many remaining Liao monasteries in Shanxi, Hebei and Liaoning provinces attest to the great age of Liao Buddhism. What is even more astonishing are the sculptures preserved in these monuments in great number from the period. Like the architecture which exudes grandeur, these sculptures are of the highest artistic quality, most likely from the hand of Chinese artisans (Gridley, 1985 p. 5). Their sumptuousness is even compared to high Baroque art by Sullivan, drawing as it were from the strength and vitality of Tang art.[1]

One very good example of such splendour is this gilt bronze Avalokiteśvara. Standing erect with a typical full, rounded Liao face, the figure is decorated with ornate jewellery and flowing skirt and scarf. The Bodhisattva wears a tall, elaborate headdress in which are five Buddha images. One is placed in the centre of the triangular headpiece while the others are placed symmetrically on the left and right sides of the crown. The five Buddhas are probably the five Nirmāṇa Buddhas. This representation is rather unusual in this period. There are Ming dynasty examples of a Buddha or a Bodhisattva's crown decorated with five Buddhas. The face of the Bodhisattva is full and round and wears a serene expression.

The body of the Bodhisattva is columnar with a slight contraction at the waist. This again is derived from late Tang sculpture (Munsterberg 1967, p. 68). All over the body, the Bodhisattva is decorated with a dazzling array of jewellery, scarves and garlands. One interesting aspect of these ornamentations is the central plaque at the waist, which is decorated with the scene of Buddha's Mahāparinirvāṇa. The scene of Buddha's final moment on earth is one of the eight scenes of Buddha's life. In this scene, the disciples are neatly arrayed to the back of the Buddha who reclines across the middle of the plaque. The other unusual aspect of the image is the Buddha triad pendant hanging from the beaded chains near the bottom of the garment. Flanking the triad is a pair of dragons with raised legs and open mouths, as if paying homage to the Buddha. In the left hand the Bodhisattva holds a *kalaśa*, and the right hand is raised in the teaching *mudrā*. Iconographically, there are some aspects of the Bodhisattva that are not commonly found in sculpture of this period, such as the five Buddhas in the headdress. However, this Bodhisattva demonstrates majestically the achievement of Tang dynasty style that remained in north China during the Liao dynasty.

PPH

1 Sullivan, M., *The Arts of China*, 3rd edition, 1984, p. 146.

Published: Christie's, 1998: no. 603

References

- Munsterberg H. 1967: p. 68, pls 56a and 56b
- National Palace Museum, 1986: p. 156, pl. 145
- Gillman, D. 1982-83: pp 33-44
- Gridley, M. L. 1985

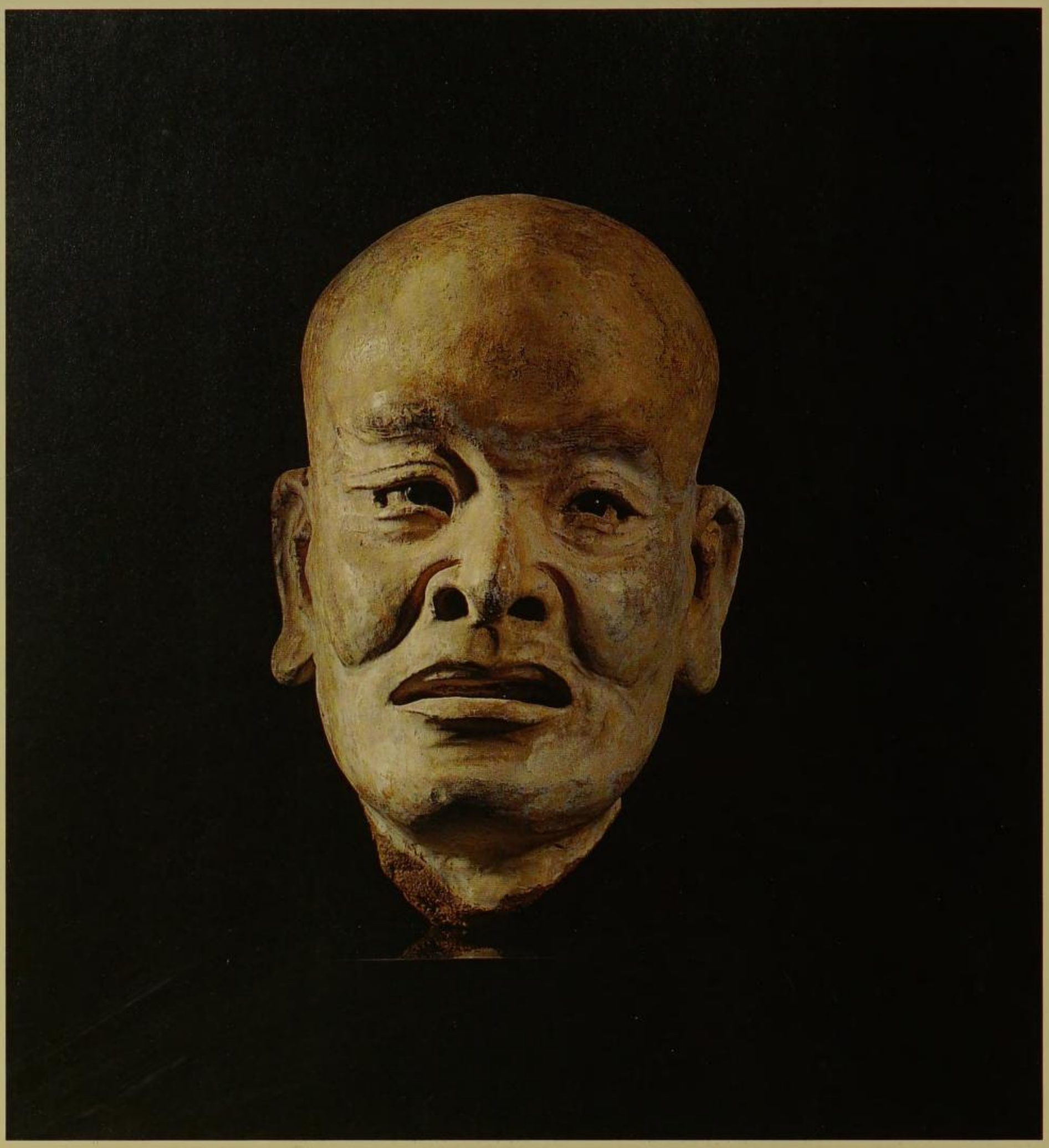
117a

117 Head of a Buddha with Five Faces 五面佛像
China, Song-Yuan dynasties (12th-13th centuries CE)
中國，宋至元代
Stone, H: 35 cm, W: 23 cm
The Tsui Museum of Art Collection

This is a very unusual piece. There are four faces in the four directions and an additional face mounted in the *uṣṇīṣa* facing the front. The hair is conical in shape and tied to form a topknot. A decorative band with a lotus pattern is placed just above the forehead. Deeply incised groves separate the hair into four segments. The front segment contains the face of a Buddha which is masked by the lotus band from the nose down. This Buddha with slanted eyes is complete with his own *uṣṇīṣa* and *ūrṇā*. The other three hair segments are decorated with incised inverted V-shaped lines. The main face at the front has a more pronounced hair style – the hair is parted in the middle with two locks curling towards the centre. The face has a broad forehead and narrower cheeks. The eyes are fully open, and the nose is beautifully shaped above a small, pouting mouth. The faces to the left and right are sandwiched between those on the front and rear and are slightly distorted. The iconography of the head is uncertain. It could be the Buddha Vairocana of Tantric Buddhism. Vairocana is the Cosmic Buddha whose light and wisdom are said to shine in all directions.[1] In Tibetan Buddhism, this Buddha is usually placed at the centre of the *maṇḍala* together with the Buddhas of the four directions because of his ability to shed light in darkness. A four-faced Bodhisattva image has been identified by Gordon as that of the Vairocana Buddha.[2]

PPH

1 See Soper, A. C., *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China*, 1959, pp 195-196.
2 See Gordon, A. K., *The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism*, 1939, pp 50-52.



118

118 Head of an Arhat with Glass Eyes
琉璃眼羅漢頭像
China, Song dynasty (960-1279 CE)
中國，宋代
Stucco, H: 22 cm, W: 14.5 cm
Simon Kwan Collection

An *arhat* is one who becomes an enlightened being through self cultivation. Such Enlightenment is the highest achievement of Hīnayāna practices, and Mahāyāna practices in a broader sense. An *arhat* is often an ascetic and, once enlightened, possesses extraordinary power. In Chinese representations, *arhats* often have very pronounced facial features, signifying their foreign origin as well as the agony of their self cultivation.[1] This stucco head has very strong features, and the eyebrows, painted in thin brushed lines, form a wavy ridge above the eyes. The cheekbones are high and the nose is sculpted like the beak of an eagle. The eyes are highly stylised with inset glass beads. The ears are elongated and hug the face tightly. The mouth is slightly slanted and deeply moulded. The head is very naturalistically sculpted in the best Song tradition.

PPH

1 See Seckel, D., *Buddhist Art of East Asia*, Ulrich Mammitzsch, trans., 1989, pp 100-101.

References

- Matsubara, S. 1995: vol. 3, p. 778
- Eskenazi, G. 1978: no. 22

119 Head of a Bodhisattva 菩薩頭像
China, Song dynasty (960-1279 CE)
中國，宋代
Stucco, H: 14.5 cm
The Mengdiexuan Collection

This small stucco head of a Bodhisattva exemplifies the serene beauty of Song sculptural art. The head wears an ornate tiara now partly damaged. The hair under the tiara is drawn back in locks sculpted symmetrically in deep relief. The face is rounded with fleshy cheeks and an *ūrṇā* set in the middle of the forehead. Eyebrows arch gracefully over the half-opened eyes. The small mouth is typical of the Song expression. From the late Tang, depictions of the Bodhisattva were gradually turned to greater femininity. Some of the best Song dynasty Bodhisattvas in wood or stucco are almost totally female figures. This head is a fine example of this development.

PPH

Reference
• Shi Y. 1988: vol. 5, pl. 64

119

120 Figure of a Bodhisattva 菩薩立像
Japan, 7th-8th centuries CE
日本，七至八世紀
Gilt bronze, H: 28 cm, W: 11 cm
Anonymous loan from a Private Collection

This figure is more closely related stylistically to late Sui and early Tang images with a less curvaceous body line and sharp-edged draperies. The slight sway of the *tribhaṅga* pose is evident, but the asymmetrical scheme of both the jewelled criss-crossed necklace and the long scarf held across the body is a variation on the Chinese style.

The happy expression on the wide, fleshy face is reflected on a number of early Tang bronzes and stone sculptures, but the necklace around the chest, with what appears to be a fringe of plaques, is an unusual feature not often seen on Chinese figures. The diadem may also be compared to Chinese examples of the Sui and early Tang periods.

AL

Reference
• Matsubara, S. 1995: vol. 2, pp 563-566, 570, 592

120

121 Figure of a Bodhisattva 菩薩立像

Korea, Unified Silla period, 8th century CE
韓國，統一新羅時期，八世紀
Gilt bronze, H: 22.5 cm, W: 8.5 cm
Anonymous loan from a Private Collection

The marked similarity between the sculptural styles of Korea and Japan in the 7th to 9th centuries and that of the Tang dynasty (618-907) in China has led to the latter being dubbed the "international" style in Buddhist art. The Chinese style based on a Tang aesthetic engendered examples of sculpture, Buddhist painting and architecture in other East Asian countries.

The whole conception of this gilt bronze adheres closely to Tang examples, particularly in the face, torso and the undulating folds of the skirt. The delicacy of the expression of the face and the fingers are also notable features widely found on Tang gilt bronzes. Japanese gilt bronzes of the Heian and Nara periods were also closely based on Tang prototypes, and Korean artisans were important agents in the transmission of the Chinese style to Japan.

AL

References

- Zwalf, W. 1985: no. 342
- Matsubara, S. 1995: vol. 3, pp 704, 706, 765

121

Selective Glossary of mainly sanskrit terms

All *āsana* and *mudrā* are grouped together under their respective headings.

A

abhayamudrā
See under *mudrā.*

abhidhamma (Pāli)
A systemisation of doctrine and part of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka 三藏 (comprising Sutta 經, Vinaya 律 and Abhidhamma 阿毘達摩).

Adamantine Being
See *Vajrasattva.*
Adamantine sound see *vajrahūṁkāra.*

Ādi Buddha (Ch. 最初一佛 *zuichuyifo*)
Primordial or Universal Buddha particularly in Vajrayāna Buddhism. The whole world and all other Buddhas are his emanations.

advaya
Literally "no-two" thus, by implication, the point at which duality ceases.

Ágastya
A sage regarded as the culture hero by South Indians and depicted on South Indian temple walls. Often depicted in ancient Indonesian art.

Akṣobhya (Ch. 阿閦佛 *Achufo*)
'Imperturbable', one of the five *jīna*; when represented in a *stūpa* he always faces East.

Amitābha (Ch. 阿彌陀佛 *Amituofo)*
The Buddha of 'Infinite Light' in Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna Buddhism, one of the five *jīna* (see under *jīna*), Lord of the 'Western Paradise' of Chinese 'Pure Land' school. Avalokiteśvara is his emanation.

Amōghasiddhi (Ch. 不空成就佛 *Bukongchengjiufo*)
Literally "He of unfailing accomplishments".
The *jīna* who presides over the Northern Quarter. Seldom represented individually, often in a *maṇḍala.*

andagu (Burmese)
A term used in the Burmese language to mean both the yellowish stone and a plaque made of the same material representing scenes from the life of Buddha.

añjalīmudrā
See under *mudrā.*

antaravāsaka
(Also *antaravāsa*) Undergarment of a Buddhist monk, one of the 'three garments' (*tricīvara*).

apsara
Celestial women or "nymphs"; popularly depicted in Buddhist art.

āraṇayavāsin (Pāli *araññavāsin*)
Forest dwelling religuese.
Also name of a forest dwelling sect.

arhat (Ch. 羅漢 *luohan*)
An Enlightened being.

āsana
A seat or a sitting posture. The different types are:

bhadrāsana
Also see *pralambapādāsana.*
Often referred to as the "European position", both legs are pendent and may either be apart or crossed at the ankles.

Cross ankled pose and its variant – The posture assumed when a figure is represented sitting either cross ankled or its variant with one leg pendent, usually the left,with the right leg placed at right angles across the left thigh. This is commonly represented in the so called 'pensive' or 'contemplative' Boddhisattvas.

dhyānāsana
Meditation posture. Often referred to as the "lotus position". The legs are crossed and interlocked and the feet rest on the opposite thighs with their soles upwards. See also *vajraparyaṅkāsana* and *virāsana.*

lalitāsana
A sitting posture where one leg crosses over to rest flat on the seat leaving the other leg (usually the right leg) pendent.

pralambapādāsana
See *bhadrāsana.*

sattvaparyaṅkāsana.
Cross legged sitting posture, with both feet or one foot resting on the seat.

vīrāsana
Same as *dhyānāsana.*

vajraparyaṅkāsana
Same as *dhyānāsana.*

Aśoka (Ch. 阿育王 *Ayuwang*)
Also called 'the Great' (r. 274-232 BCE), Mauryan Emperor, and great patron of Buddhism.

Atīśa
A Buddhist scholar, spiritual master and a missionary to Tibet (982-1058 CE).

Aṭṭharasa (Pāli)
A statue of the same height as the legendary Buddha (8.5m).

avadāna
Lit. meaning a 'noteworthy deed'; edificatory tales. A type of Buddhist literature that marks the transition from Hīnayāna to Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Avalokiteśvara (Ch. 觀音 *Guanyin*)
The Bodhisattva of Compassion, who appears in various 'aspects'. Known in Chinese as 'Guanyin' and Japanese as 'Kannon', known in Tibetan as 'Chen-re-zi', the divine patron of Tibet.

B

Bhairava
The name applied to Śiva (Maheśvara) in his 'Terrible' aspect, and a popular deity in Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Bhaiṣajyaguru (Ch. 藥師佛 *Yaoshifo*)
A Mahāyāna Buddhist deity, Divine Healer or Medicinal Buddha.

bhaṅga
Flexions of the body; the different *bhaṅga* are:

samabhaṅga
The body is held absolutely straight.

dvibhaṅga
The body is bent at two points.

tribhaṅga
Threefold bend of the body, at the head, waist and knees.

bhikṣu (Pāli *bhikku*)
A Buddhist monk.

bhikṣuṇi (Pāli *bhikkuni*)
A Buddhist nun.

Bīma
Indonesian form of the Sanskrit Bhīma, one of the five Pāṇḍava brothers, the heroes of the Mahābhārata.

bimba
Brahman (Vedantic), the source of reality of the *pratibimba* (the derived being); that which causes reflection.

bodhi (Ch. 菩提 *puti*)
See *boddhicitta.*

bodhicitta
Enlightenment or *bodhi* (the highest knowledge), the ultimate aim of all Buddhists.

bodhayāgrimudrā
See under *mudrā.*

Bodh Gaya
The name of the place in Bihar, India. This is where the Buddha attained his *nirvāṇa* (q.v.). A

temple called the Mahābodhi temple was built here to commemorate the event.

Bodhisattva (Ch. 菩薩 *pusa)*
An Enlightened Being; in Theravāda Buddhism, the historical Buddha before he attained Enlightenment, and in Mahāyāna Buddhism, a Being who is fully equipped to attain *nirvāṇa*, but has postponed it for the altruistic purpose of saving all living creatures.

Brahmā
One of the three main Hindu deities; creator of the universe. He was absorbed into Buddhism as a divine attendant of Buddha, and occurs along with the Buddha in narrative scenes dealing with his life. As Sakka or Śakra he became a subsidiary figure in Buddhism.

Buddha Busaya Ratana
Crystal copy of the Thai Emerald Buddha.

Buddha (Ch. 佛陀 *fotuo)*
One who is perfectly Enlightened.

buddhamārga
'Path' or 'way' of the Buddha.

buddhakāya
The three bodies (*trikāya*) are Dharmakāya (the Essence, the Body of Truth), the Sambhogakāya (Body of Bliss) and Nirmāṇakāya (Body of Proof, or the Empirical Body), an essential concept in Mahāyāna Buddhism.

bhūmisparśamudrā
See under *mudrā*.

C

caitya
A congregational or prayer hall for the Buddhists. In Thai and Burmese the word *cedi* (*chedi*) and *zedi* derived from *caitya* stand for a *stūpa*.

cakravartin (Pāli *cakkavatin*)
A world ruler, lit. "one who turns the wheel".

cauri
Fly whisk often carried by Vajrapāṇi.

chattrāvalī
A succession of umbrellas above the *harmikā* or small pavilion at the crown of the dome (*aṇḍa*) of a *stūpa*.

chorten
Tibetan *stūpa*. See *stūpa*.

Cūlavaṁsa (Pāli).
"Little Chronicle", a Ceylonese work that charts the history of Sri Lanka from *circa* 4th-16th centuries.

D

dagoba
(Ch. 塔 *pagoda*, Sinhal., Pāli *thūpa*, Skt. *stūpa*)
See *dhātugarbha* and *stūpa*.

ḍākinī
Term in Tantric Buddhism designating a group of subsidiary female deities.

ḍamaru
A small double-faced drum.

Dao 道
"The Way". Chinese metaphysical concept, a spiritual force that underlines all reality traditionally traced back to the sage Laozi 老子 (*circa* 6th century BCE).

deva or devatā
Celestial beings.

dharma (Ch. 法 *fa*, Pāli *dhamma*)
Buddha's teachings, Buddhist law, duty, religion; one of the *triratna* or Three Jewels of Buddhism.

dharmapāla
A protector of the Law or *dharma.*

dharmacakra
The Wheel of Law.

dharmacakramudrā,
dharmacakrapravartanamudrā
See under *mudrā*.

dhātugarbha (Pāli *dātugabba*)
Literally the womb of relics; often used for the *stūpa or dagoba*. See *stūpa*.

dhoti
Cloth worn by men as a lower garment in India.

dhyāna
Meditation. (Also see under *mudrā* and *āsana*.)

dhyāni Buddha
See under *jīna*.

dorje (Tibetan)
Same as *vajra*. See *vajra*.

dvibhaṅga
See under *bhaṅga*.

G

gadā
Mace, an iconic attribute of a Buddhist Lokapāla, guardian of the quarters.

garbhadhātu maṇḍala (Ch. 胎藏界 *taizangjie*)
A *maṇḍala*, familiar in the Japanese and Tibetan traditions. This *maṇḍala* has Vairocana (q.v.) in the centre.

garuḍa
An eagle, the bird associated with the Hindu God Viṣṇu and an enemy of the *nāga*. Absorbed in Buddhism and appears in Buddhist art.

ghaṇṭā
A bell, symbolising wisdom (or *prajñā*), used in Tantric rituals and as an attribute of Tantric deites. In conjunction with *vajra* (q.v.) represents wisdom and compassion.

guru
A spiritual preceptor.

H

Hīnayāna (Ch. 小乘 *Xiaocheng*)
'Lesser Vehicle', the name Mahāyāna Buddhists gave to those following the earlier Buddhist tradition. See *Theravāda*.

homa
An offering made to fire in the name of different deities.

I

Indraśailaguha
There is a legend recounting Indra's visit to Buddha in a cave, hence the cave is called Indraśailaguha.

J

jātaka
Stories of the previous lives of the Buddha. The number of births are given differently in different texts, but a canonical number of 550 is the most accepted version.

jaṭāmukuṭa
Matted hair arranged in a chignon worn by some Boddhisattvas.

jīna
Transcendental Buddhas, also called *dhyāni* Buddhas. The five *jīna* in Tantric Buddhism are: Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasaṁbhava (Ch. 寶生佛 *Poshengfo*), Amitābha, Amōghasiddhi. They represent five wisdoms, five directions (cardinal points and centre) and several other esoteric concepts classified under a group of five.

K

Kāma
In Hindu mythology, the God of Love, also called Manmatha. See *Manmatha*.

kālacakra tantra
The Tantra or scriptures of the 'Wheel of Time'. A mystical, cosmological and astronomical system, one of the yoga *tantras*. Its emphasis on *suṇyā* and non-duality and Tantric yogic practices of

meditation have earned it the epithet amongst Tantric practitioners as 'The Highest Yoga'.

kamaṇḍalu
Spouted water-pot.

Kāṣyapa (Ch. 迦葉 *Jiaye*, Pāli *Kassapa*)
The 24th immediate predecessor of the historical Buddha, Gautama.

Kāṣyapa mātaṅga
One of the first two missionaries to China in 68 CE.

kartrī
Small knife often with the blade curved at the end.

Kṣitigarbha (Ch. 地藏 *Dizang*)
He is the saviour of souls; one of Mahāyāna's Eight Great Bodhisattvas.

kuñcita
A dancing posture with the foot curled upwards.

Kyanzittha
Son of Aniruddha, he was a fervent Buddhist, one of Pagan's greatest rulers (r. 1084-1113), who united Burma.

L

Lāṭa
The ancient name of the present State of Gujarat, in western India.

lalitāsana
See under *āsana*.

Lalitavistāra
One of the most important texts of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The exact date is unknown but the narrative scenes of the life of the historical Buddha, as described in this work, formed the subject matter of much of Gandhāran narrative art.

lakṣaṇa (Pāli *lakkana*)
See under *mahālakṣana*.

Lokapāla (Ch. 力士 *lishi*)
These are four celestial kings believed to guard the four cardinal points.

M

Mahābhārata
One of the two great epics of India. The other great epic is the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Mahākāla
This fierce protector of Buddhism, popular in Tibet, appears in many forms but most commonly with one face and six arms.

makaradhvaja
Makara is a legendary water animal and the emblem on the banner (or *dhvaja*) of Manmatha, the God of Love.

Manmatha
See under *Kāma*.

mahālakṣaṇa (Skt. *lakṣaṇa*, Pāli *lakkana*)
The great marks or symbols denoting a Great Being. Buddha has thirty-two such signs, described in the *Lakkanasutta*, a Pāli text.

Mahāparinirvāṇa
See under *parinirvāṇa*.

Mahāvaṁsa
One of the Pāli chronicles. It describes the history of Buddhism in India, its introduction into Sri Lanka and its subsequent history in Sri Lanka until the time of King Mahāsena.

Mahāyāna (Ch. 大乘 *Dacheng*)
Lit. "the Great-Vehicle", one of the two broad divisions of Buddhism. Mahāyāna Buddhists seek the salvation of all fellow human beings. It introduced new iconographic types in Buddhist art, including several female deities and consorts.

Mahāvastu
Title of an important Buddhist work in Sanskrit, forms part of the Vinayapiṭaka (See *Tripiṭaka*) and consists of the the hagiography of Buddha.

Maitreya
Translates as " The Loving One", the Future Buddha, presently residing in Tuṣita heaven, will be born as the Buddha in the future. In art he is represented both as a Buddha and a Bodhisattva.

Majapahit
A Javanese kingdom (*circa* 1293-1528 CE) based in East Java, and the last great Indonesian empire. The art of Majapahit marked the *terminus ad quem* of the Hindu Javanese period and its art.

Mallā
One of the eight people of the states of the Gangetic basin who attended the Buddha's funeral. Buddha's ashes were divided into eight parts and each carried these back to his kingdom where they built a *stūpa* over the Buddha's mortal remains.

mandorla
A large halo depicted behind figures, encompassing both their bodies and the haloes behind their heads.

Mañjuśrī
One of the Eight Great Bodhisattva of the Mahāyāna pantheon personifying Wisdom.

Māra
Buddhist equivalent of Satan, the Tempter of Buddha.

Māravijaya
Victory over Māra. The incident is believed to have taken place in Bodh Gaya and the *mudrā* associated with this event is *bhūmisparśa* (see *mudrā*).

maṇḍala (Ch. 曼陀羅 *mantuoluo* / 壇城 *tancheng*)
A geometric formation representing a sacred realm which can be represented either two or three dimensionally. In Tantric art and ritual, *maṇḍala* form an elaborate symbolic code; different deities are positioned within the *maṇḍala*.

Mucalinda
A serpent deity and *nāga* king often shown with his hood spread, sheltering the Buddha from torrential rain (see *nāga*).

mudrā (Ch. 手印 *shouyin*)
Symbolic hand gestures. The different types are:

abhayamudrā (Ch. 施無畏印 *shiwuweiyin*)
The gesture of 'protection'; the palm is held facing the front with the fingers held oustretched.

añjalimudrā, also *añjalihasta*
The gesture of 'reverence'; both the hands are held together, palm to palm with the fingers outstretched.

bhūmisparśamudrā (Ch. 觸地印 *chudiyin*)
The 'Earth touching' gesture; the right hand extends down over the right knee to touch the earth or the 'seat', with the palm facing inwards and fingers outstretched. The Buddha's left hand lies on his lap with the palm facing upwards. When challenged by Māra, Buddha invoked the Earth to be his witness through this gesture.

bodhyagrimudrā (Ch. 智拳印 *zhiquanyin*)
Also called 'Lotus Fist', the Buddha Vairocana (q.v.) inserts his left thumb into his right hand which he holds in a 'Diamond Fist'.

dhyānamudrā (Ch. 禪定印 *chandingyin*)
The right palm rests over the left palm and both rest on the lap in a meditating posture.

dharmacakrapravartanamudrā
(Ch. 轉法輪印 *zhuanfalunyin*)
The 'turning of the wheel of law' gesture. There are several variants of this gesture. The most commonly depicted being: the left hand held near the heart facing inwards, with the thumb and the index finger touching, while the right hand faces outwards with the thumb and index finger touching.

varamudrā (Ch. 施願印 *shiyuanyin*)
The 'boon granting'gesture', in which the palm faces outwards with the fingers extended downwards.

vajrahūṁkāramudrā
A hand gesture with the two lower arms crossed at the wrists before the chest with or without emblems. When the emblems are held, it is usually the *vajra* (q.v) and *ghaṇṭa* (q.v).

vyākhyānamudrā or vitarkamudrā
The gesture of 'argument', normally made with the right hand which is held at chest level, with the thumb and the index finger touching.

N

nāga
A mythical serpent-like being, *nāgas* and *nāginīs* are often associated with the Buddha.

Nālandā
A monastery and university in Bihar, where Xuanzang studied when he visited India in the 7th century CE.

nats
Thirty-seven spirits whom the Burmese revere.

nikāya (Pāli)
A Buddhist term for a collection of discourses, usually of the Buddha. A body of monks or sects, eg. *śyāmanikāya* (The Thai sect).

niṣpatākā
Banners without streamers.

Nirmāṇakāya
See *buddhakāya*.

nirvāṇa (Pāli *nibbāna*)
Supreme freedom from earthly bondage and suffering: a tranquil, pure state. In Mahāyāna *nirvāṇa* was equated with *śūṇyatā*.

P

padmāsana
See *āsana*.

Pāli
An ecclesiastical language of the Theravāda Buddhist canon.

Paṇḍita
A scholar and a priest.

pārāmitā
Perfect qualities, according to Buddhism, there are six *pārāmitā* which include virtues such as charity, patience, knowledge etc.

parinirvāṇa
The Great Demise; the death of Śākyamuni Buddha. Also called *mahāparinirvāṇa*.

paritta
Protective chant used in Buddhism from an early period.

paṭacitra
Painting on cloth.

pichavāi
Usually a large painting, depicting religious themes, on cloth hung on the back walls in shrines in Rajasthan and Gujarat.

prajñāliṅgana
A posture in which the male partner is depicted embracing the female personification of Wisdom (*prajña*); a Tantric pose.

Prajñapāramitā (Ch. 般若波羅蜜 *boyeboluomi*)
Perfect wisdom, a pefect combination of wisdom and noble virtues. A whole body of *sūtra* called the Prajñapāramitasūtra was devoted to this concept. In Mahāyāna philosophy it is the knowledge of the 'void' (*śūṇyatā*) that constitutes Pefect Wisdom. In iconography, represented as a female divinity in *dharmacakrapravartanamudrā*; she is the personification of Perfect Wisdom.

Prākṛt
A vernacular spoken dialect; Buddha is believed to have preached in Prākṛt. It appears in the English spelling Prākṛit in this catalogue.

pralambapādāsana
See *āsana*.

R

rasa
Essence; an aesthetic experience.

Rāmāyaṇa
One of the two great epics of India.
Also see *Mahābhārata*.

S

śālabhañjikā
Tree dryad; a woman and tree motif.

samabhaṅga
See under *bhaṅga*.

śarīra
Body; a term used for bodily relics of the Buddha.

stūpa
A mound emshrining the relics of Buddha.
See *dagoba*, *dhātugabba*.

sūtra (Pāli *sutta*)
'Thread'. Hindu or Buddhist
scriptures strung together as a sermon.

T

Tārā (Ch. 度母 *dumu*)
The feminine principle in Mahāyāna Buddhism, often a Śakti for a Boddhisattva.

tribhaṅga
See under *bhaṅga*.

triratna
The three jewels of Buddhism, the Buddha, *dharma* and *saṅgha* (The Teacher, the Teaching and the Monastic Order).

trayastriṃsa
Thirty three. The heaven whose capital is situated on the summit of Mt. Sumeru.

Tuṣita
The heaven of joy; this is the heaven where Maitreya, the Buddha-to-be resides before coming down as Buddha to earth.

Tantrayāna (Ch. 密宗 *Mizong*)
The 'path' of the Tantra or the 'way' of the Tantra; often popularly referred to as Vajrayāna (q.v.) and Mantrayāna.

Theravāda
See *Hīnayāna*.

U

uṣṇīṣa
Cranial bump on the Buddha's head. One of the 32 *lakṣaṇas* of the Buddha. See *lakṣaṇas*.

ūrṇā
A small tuft of hair in the middle of Buddha's forehead. One of the 32 *lakṣaṇas* of the Buddha. See *lakṣaṇas*.

V

Vairocana (Ch. 毘盧遮那 *Piluzhena*, J. 大日如來 *Dainichi nyorai*)
An important deity in Tantric Buddhism. In Japanese Buddhism the great 'Solar' Buddha of Light and Truth.

vajra (Ch. 金剛 *jin'gang*)
Translated variously as 'Thunderbolt', Diamond and Adamantine, originally a divine weapon, later adopted into the symbolic system of Tantric Buddhism as symbolising '*suṇyā*'; also a ritual object held in the hands of the practitioner.
See *dorje*.

vajradhātumaṇḍala
(The *maṇḍala* of the realm of *vajra*, ie. *vajradhātu* (Ch. 金剛界 *jin'gangjie*). It is the Wisdom of Vairocana (q.v.) in its indestructability. It arises

from the *garbhadhātu* (q.v.), the "womb" of Vairocana (q.v.). An important *maṇḍala* in Tantric form of Buddhism. See also *garbhadhātumaṇḍala* ("womb" *maṇḍala*).

vajrahūṁkāra
A term given to both an esoteric *mudrā* and an esoteric sound in Tantric Buddhism. See under *mudrā*.

Vajrapāṇi (Ch. 金剛 *jin'gang*)
Lit. 'one who holds the *vajra*'; one of the eight principal Boddhisattvas, he is very widely represented in Buddhist art and often carries a *cauri* in one hand. See *cauri*.

Vajrasattva (Ch. 金剛薩埵 *jin'gangsaduo*)
One "whose essence is *vajra*" (see *vajra*); special form of Ādi Buddha (q.v.) in Vajrayāna (q.v.).

Vajrayāna (Ch. 金剛乘 *jin'gangcheng*)
Path of *vajra* " Diamond Vehicle"; it is a form of Tantric Buddhism and its complex liturgy features the use of *mantra* (incantations), *mudrā* (hand poses) and *maṇḍala* (geometric patterns).

vihāra
Residential quarters of Buddhist monks.

Y

yakṣa/yakṣī
Semi divine spirits; male/female.

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